

# THE BLACK PANTHER

## INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

copyright © 1976 by Huey P. Newton

VOL. XIV NO. 18

SATURDAY, JANUARY 17, 1976

25¢



### INSIDE

•F.B.I. Gloated Over Murders  
Of B.P.P. Members PAGE 3

•"Health" Program  
Spies On Children PAGE 6

•Daley Refuses To Hire  
More Black Police PAGE 7

•U.S. Continues Mercenary  
Operations In Angola PAGE 17

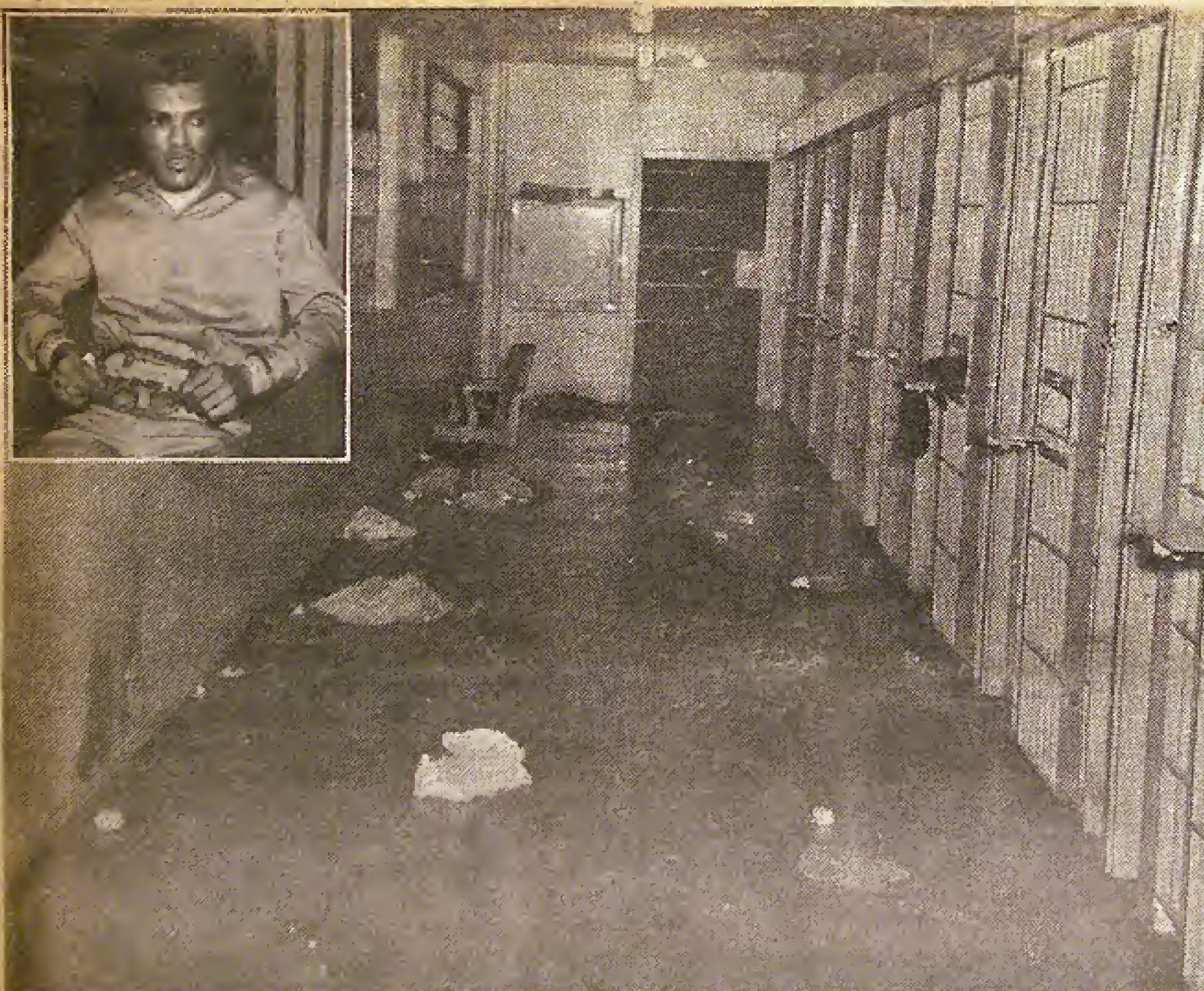
### EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW

# JOHNNY SPAIN ON THE SAN QUENTIN 6 TRIAL

ALDERMAN LIBRARY

JAN 26 1976

UNIV. OF VIRGINIA  
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.



JOHNNY SPAIN (inset) survived the plot of August 21, 1971, when California correctional officials assassinated Black Panther Party Field Marshal George Jackson after creating bedlam on the first tier of San Quentin's Adjustment Center (above).

Incarcerated in California prisons since he was 17 years old, Johnny Larry Spain, a well-respected and well-loved member of the Black Panther Party, has lived and struggled to survive through the past eight years locked within the hell holes of the largest and most repressive penal system in America. For the past four and one-half years, since the August 21, 1971, incident in which he and close comrade George Jackson broke from the madness of San Quentin Prison's notorious Adjustment Center and dashed into the outer courtyard in an attempt to escape a vicious, preplanned set-up—only to have Comrade George ruthlessly assassinated as he lay helpless and wounded—Brother Johnny Spain has been chained and shackled in his every movement. Only when confined in his bare, 5' by 8' first tier Adjustment Center cell are the inhumane restraints removed.

Since May, 1975, when the longest jury selection process in state history began, Johnny Spain, along with five other Black and Brown prison activists, known collectively as the San Quentin 6, has had to endure a political frame-up trial, a scapegoat in the conspiracy to murder George Jackson and repress the growing prison movement. In the courtroom, Brother Johnny is again chained and shackled in his chair, separated from his friends and supporters by a specially constructed vision-distorting, bulletproof plexiglass wall.

Yet, despite all this, the efforts to crush the revolutionary spirit, the determination, the will of Johnny Larry Spain have failed. Brother

CENTRAL DISTRIBUTION  
8501 E. 14TH STREET  
OAKLAND, CALIF. 94621



## Editorial

### CONSPIRACY TO PROMOTE RACISM

We have maintained in the columns of THE BLACK PANTHER repeatedly that there is a carefully planned and executed campaign underway in this country to increase feelings and attitudes of racism among the White majority population and incite disunity, confusion and conflict among Blacks.

This week, on January 12, the major radio talk station in the Bay Area, KGO, had as a "guest" for three hours on the popular Ron Owen's "Newstalk" call-in show a "Negro" called Al Burton who claimed to be a George Wallace supporter and vigorously maintained throughout those three hours that Blacks (whom he insisted upon calling Negroes) are inherently inferior to Whites.

Among the ignorant and vicious statements made by this "Negro Burton" were: "Martin Luther King, Jr., did Blacks more harm than anyone else." "Wallace contributed more to the education of Blacks than any governor." "Blacks migrated to California to get on welfare." "Sports ability of Blacks is proof of their reliance solely on animal instincts." "Women were put on this earth only to bear children." "The Moors were not a Black people."

When a caller demanded to know from host Ron Owen why this tool of White racism was being given three hours of radio time to reach hundreds of thousands of Bay Area listeners with his vile, racist propaganda, Owen defended his presence by claiming that Al Burton had been a longtime caller on his program, many listeners had heard his "controversial" contributions to earlier talk shows and therefore he was giving Burton the opportunity to be questioned directly on the air by listeners.

We challenge Ron Owen or any other talk show host on KGO to provide us with another instance when an unknown caller, representing neither accomplishment nor constituency, was provided three hours on KGO to propagate their ideas, controversial or otherwise.

We view the decision to invite Al Burton for three hours of exposure on KGO as further evidence that a campaign is currently underway to whip up racist passions among Whites and increased frustrations, conflict and fury among Blacks, and that KGO is a part of this conspiracy. [ ]

## WE CELEBRATE YOUR LIFE

*Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.*

Born  
January 15, 1929



## An Appeal To Our Readers

Dear Readers and Friends,

The Distribution and Circulation Department of THE BLACK PANTHER is in desperate need of a van or truck, with which we could greatly increase the availability of our paper in the Northern California region.

Demands and requests for THE BLACK PANTHER have greatly increased in recent months. Many people have heard through word of mouth of the excellence of our paper and particularly its unrivaled and superior coverage of the African liberation movements of southern Africa, but they do not have access to it.

Those of you who are regular readers know THE BLACK PANTHER is the only newspaper in the country that has provided weekly coverage, in detail and accurately, of developments in Angola. Only because the American people in general and Black people in particular are kept misinformed and ill-informed about developments in southern Africa, could so heinous a scheme as Roy Innis' Black mercenaries to fight the legitimate government of the People's Republic of Angola, be even listened to in the Black community.

It is of the greatest urgency that THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper be made easily accessible to this community, and to every community in this country. A major leap forward toward that objective would be realized if our Circulation Department could secure a truck or van.

If you know anyone who has a truck or van they can contribute please contact them, or let us know. Also, please dig down into your pockets and pocketbooks and send us a generous contribution towards securing this much needed transportation. Every 10 cents will help. Help us now, as many of you have done so generously in the past.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

*David G. Du Bois*

David G. Du Bois  
Editor-in-Chief

Send checks and money orders to: Central Distribution  
8501 E. 14th Street  
Oakland, Calif. 94621

## In Memory Of WESLEY ROBERT WELLS

Born: May 23, 1909 Died: January 8, 1976

## COMMENT

### On The Death Of Chou En-lai

Hsinhua news agency, the official press agency of the People's Republic of China, published the following announcement of the death of Chou En-lai, 78, prime minister of People's China, on Thursday, January 8. The obituary, reprinted from The New York Times, praises Chou as "a loyal revolutionary fighter of the Chinese people," who along with Chairman Mao Tse-tung built China into the "powerful modern socialist country" it is today.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the State Council of the People's Republic of China announce with extreme grief:

Comrade Chou En-lai, member of the party's Central Committee, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee, member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo of the Central Committee, deputy chairman of the Central Committee, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China and chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, died of cancer at 9:57 a.m. on January 8, 1976, in Peking at the age of 78.

Comrade Chou En-lai was a fine member of the Communist Party of China, a great proletarian revolutionary of the Chinese people, a loyal revolutionary fighter of the Chinese people and an outstanding, long-tested leader of the party and the state.

Since Comrade Chou En-lai fell ill in 1972, he had been given meticulous, many-sided treatment by medical personnel under the constant and affectionate attention of our great leader, Chairman Mao, and the party's Central Committee. He persevered in work all the time and waged a tenacious struggle against the illness.

Owing to the worsening of his conditions despite all treatment, Comrade Chou En-lai, the great

## THE BLACK PANTHER

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, 8501 EAST 14TH STREET, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94621. TELEPHONE: (415) 638-6195.

YEARLY DOMESTIC SUBSCRIPTION

RATES: \$10.00

APPLICATION TO MAIL AT SECOND-CLASS POSTAGE AND PERMIT NO. 100, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26



# F.B.I. ADMITS GLOATING OVER MURDERS OF SAN DIEGO B.P.P. MEMBERS

(Washington, D.C.) - The FBI admitted last week that two of its agents gloated over the murders of San Diego Black Panther Party Fallen Comrades John Savage and Sylvester Bell by members of Ron Karenga's US organization in 1969, actually claiming credit for the never prosecuted killings.

In a conversation between the unnamed FBI personnel, the agent in charge of provoking violence against the Black Panther Party is quoted by *The Los Angeles Times* as remarking, "That's two for me" — referring to the murders of Comrades Savage, 21, on May 23, 1969, and Bell, 34, on August 15 of the same year — "and one for you guys," referring to an US organization member wounded in an unspecified incident.

The ominous, joking reply left no doubt of the FBI violence to come: "That's all right. I'll catch up."



The murders of Black Panther Party Comrades SYLVESTER BELL (left) and JOHN SAVAGE resulted from FBI-instigated violence committed against the BPP by the US organization.

In an FBI COINTELPRO (counterintelligence program) document recently published in *THE BLACK PANTHER* (see the December 20, 1975, issue), FBI headquarters here welcomed the death of Brother Bell while ordering its San Diego agents to continue their program of instigating such violence.

The document and the admitted conversation expose as a lie FBI Deputy Associate Director James Adams' see-through disclaimer that, "We were not trying to get people to kill each other, but to disrupt these groups and reduce their effectiveness."

A former federal investigator who was present during the conversation told the *Times* that, "I thought they were joking. I guess they weren't."

Meanwhile, two Black civic leaders in San Diego told the *Times* last week they now believe the FBI used phoney death threats to discourage them from attempting to ease tensions between the local Black Panther Party Chapter and the US organization.

Both Leon Williams, San Diego's first Black city councilman, and George Stevens, now associate pastor of Calvary Baptist Church, told *Times* reporters that the FBI warned them in 1969 that the Black Panther Party had "contracts" out to assassinate them.

This maneuver closely duplicated a similar operation used in Chicago, Illinois, when, in early 1969, the FBI sent a phoney "anonymous" letter to Jeff Fort, the head of the Blackstone Rangers street gang, falsely claiming that the Party was out to kill him.

"I wouldn't have thought then that the FBI was trying to continue making trouble," Brother Williams said, adding that the recent expose of illegal FBI activities shed new light on the alleged "threats." FBI officials in San Diego had no comment for the *Times*.

It now appears that the FBI was involved with the planting of a pipe bomb which extensively



Comrade VERNON "T.C." BENTON.

## LETTER FROM "T.C." BENTON

### "The Constitutional Rights Of The People Are Myths..."

Vernon "T.C." Benton is a member of the Black Panther Party who is currently incarcerated in Harris County Jail outside of Houston, Texas. He has frequently provided *THE BLACK PANTHER* with in-depth information regarding the inhumane conditions inside the "Rehab," the common name for the brutal county "Rehabilitation Center."

Following, "T.C." provides a thoughtful statement on the relationship of our judicial system to the police and prison.

"In our ongoing effort to negate the genocidal masterplan of the ruling class in North America on Black, poor and oppressed people, I would like to touch upon the interrelationship of the judicial system to the police and prisons.

"Attorney General Levi has made it very clear in what direction this country is going and that the courts are a fascist instrument in the overall machinery to justify the mass incarceration of Black, poor and oppressed people with the so-called legitimate stamp of crime, coupled with legitimizing the wanton murder, political assassination, brutality, and maiming by the fascist police in the minimum compound out there as well as the maximum compound in here.

"Of such stuff is fascism being made. The ruling class is using the popular alarm about the rise

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

## Fallen Comrades



ALPRENTICE  
"BUNCHY"  
CARTER



JOHN  
JEROME  
HUGGINS

Assassinated

January 17, 1969

Within minutes of the ruthless assassination of Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Jerome Huggins by the reactionary US organization on January 17, 1969, the Los Angeles Police Department swooped down on the houses of other members of the Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party in the hopes of wiping out the organized people's movement, sweeping like wildfire through the Black and oppressed community. But even in death, "Bunchy" and John proved stronger than the fascists and their cowardly lackies. The illuminating truth of the message they so diligently sought to implant in our consciousness shone bright in the dark shadows of their absence; "The Example" of their lives, of beauty, courage and strength disciplined and directed in the cause of liberation was too majestically real, too magnificent and powerful not to be heeded and cherished by freedom-loving people forever. Long live the spirit of Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Jerome Huggins! Long Live the People's Struggle!!



ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



CONTINUED ON PAGE 8



## S.Q. 6 TRIAL RESUMES

# "WE KNEW THEY WOULDN'T HESITATE TO KILL US ALL" 1966-71 Prison Affidavit By Willie Tate

(San Rafael, Calif.) - The political persecution of the San Quentin 6 resumed here last week following the holiday season recess as trial judge Henry Broderick summarily denied all defense motions to halt the frame-up proceedings.

The motions, which had been pending since the prosecution completed its sensationalized but noticeably weak case in mid-December, charged that district attorney Jerry Herman had not produced sufficient evidence against the six Black and Brown prison activists to warrant the trial's continuation.

Following Broderick's typically curt denial, Hugo Pinell, acting as his own attorney, led off with his defense presentation. Before the Monday morning session had ended, however, Brother Hugo raised serious doubts to close observers of the trial concerning his competence in self-representation, completely fumbling his opening arguments with conflicting and potentially harmful statements while leaving open several loopholes for possible attack by the prosecution.

## CONCERN

While Brother Hugo's desires to represent himself are understood and respected as fulfillment of his Constitutional rights, several observers openly expressed their concern that he should not infringe upon the rights of the other brothers nor damage their defense through clumsy, stupid mistakes.

The first witness called on Monday was Dr. Frank Rundle, former chief psychiatrist of Soledad Prison. Dr. Rundle, when questioned by defense attorneys for the other five brothers — Willie Tate, David Johnson, Luis Talamantez, Fleeta Drumgo and Black Panther Party member Johnny Larry Spain — provided valuable insights into the psychological damage and dehumanization which develop from continued incarceration in San Quentin's maximum security unit known as the Adjustment Center.

Dr. Rundle's testimony closely paralleled the brilliant opening statement of people's attorney Charles Garry, who, in representing Johnny Spain, has asserted that the "cresspool-like" conditions within the Adjustment Center, plus the prison officials' plot to assassinate Black Panther Party Field Marshal George Jackson, are the true underlying causes for the August 21, 1971,



San Quentin Six member WILLIE TATE talks to young students from McClymonds High School in Oakland during break in court session in Marin County Courthouse.

incident that the Six are accused of conspiring to create.

Dr. Rundle's presentation of the psychological horror the AC perpetuates made clear the reasons why U.S. District Court Judge Alphonso Zirpoli ruled that long-time AC confinement constitutes "cruel and unusual" punishment in violation of the 8th and 14th Constitutional Amendments. Both California prison officials and Judge Broderick have refused to implement the Zirpoli decision, however, and five of the Six continue to be chained and shackled to their courtroom chairs as the vicious railroad trial goes on.

## AFFIDAVIT

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents the conclusion of a remarkably vivid and personal affidavit, filed in February, 1971, by Brother Willie Tate, which provides a close-up look at the struggles of all Black and poor prison inmates to maintain their dignity and integrity in spite of the barbarian brutality of prison

guards and administrators. Upon completion of 13 continuous years in jail, Brother Tate, who is indeed strong, sensitive and politically aware, was released on \$100,000 bond last year, pending the outcome of the San Quentin 6 trial.

## CONCLUSION

"We had no illusions about the prison officials. We knew they wouldn't hesitate to kill us and play it off as a suicide, justifiable homicide, etc. But they also knew that to kill one of us they would have to kill all of us. For we would expose them and this they don't like. Besides, we began to get some legal aid. (An attorney, Salle S. Soladay, filed suit.)

"In A.C. on the first floor, we (at that time) would be allowed to come out of our cells for exercise, maybe twice a month for an hour each time.

"In front of our cells was a long catwalk with three gates dividing it into three sections. These

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

## Ericka Huggins To Address S.Q. 6 Rally

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Ms. Ericka Huggins, a leading Black Panther Party member, will be a featured speaker at a day long political and cultural celebration honoring the struggle of the San Quentin 6 to be held in the Nairobi Village of East Palo Alto on January 17.

Beginning at 12:00 noon and including feature films, live music, speakers, information booths and rap tables, the event will commemorate the "People's Victory" of January 17, 1974, when the illegal grand jury selection process used to indict the San Quentin 6 was declared un-Constitutional by Superior Court Judge Vernon Stoll. Although the decision was later reversed by an appeals court, the ruling was a severe blow against the racist and repressive grand jury system.

For further information on the January 17 celebration, call the San Quentin 6 Defense Committee in San Francisco at (415) 626-0690.

## THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

### January 11, 1864

The slaveholding South had always held as one of its cardinal principles that slaves, under no circumstances, should be given guns. But on January 11, 1864, General Robert E. Lee, commander of the Confederate Army, with his back against the wall, recommended the arming of the slaves. They were to be used as cannon fodder in the war against the North.

### January 15, 1872

The bold and dynamic P.B.S. Pinchback made his mark in Reconstruction Louisiana. By turns a senator, lieutenant governor and governor, Pinchback held more offices than any other Black person in American history. On January 15, 1872, he was elected to the U.S. Senate, having previously served with distinction as a member of the House of Representatives.

### January 15, 1929

On January 15, 1929, the famed and respected Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was born in Atlanta, Georgia. After receiving a Ph.D. degree from Boston University in 1954, Dr. King became minister of the Montgomery, Alabama, Dexter Baptist Church. In 1956, King headed one of the first organized and direct attacks on Southern segregation, leading the successful Montgomery boycott. Dr. King went on to become the leader of the Black civil and human rights movement in America, winning the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964. On April 4, 1968, Dr. King was murdered in Memphis, Tennessee, a victim of warped minds who vainly hoped to halt the march towards his beautiful Dream — freedom and liberation for all Black and oppressed people.

### January 15, 1941

Yancey Williams, a Howard University student, filed a suit on January 15, 1941, against the secretary of war and other government officials, asking the court to order the reconsideration of his application for enlistment in the Army Air Corps as a flying cadet. The response was immediate. On January 16, the War Department announced the formation of the first Army Air Corps squadron for Black cadets.



# CITY-WIDE TENANTS CONFERENCE SET TO TACKLE LOW-INCOME HOUSING CRISIS IN CHICAGO

(Chicago, Ill.) - Responding to the call of "TENANTS ORGANIZE," popular community enthusiasm is rapidly building for the City-Wide Tenants Conference slated to take place here at Malcolm X College on January 16 and 17.

Sponsored by the Chicago Housing Tenants Organization, the Young Lords Organization and the Intercommunal Survival Committee, the Conference is being organized to develop a broad, community-based movement to combat the grim and deadly serious crisis in low-income housing which is affecting the lives of thousands of Black, poor and oppressed people here.

Highlighted by the scheduled appearance of Ms. Elaine Brown, chairperson and leading member of the Black Panther Party, the format for the two-day affair includes: Friday, January 16, at 7:00 p.m., a Pre-Conference Forum; Saturday, January 17, 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., Workshops on the issues of private housing, public housing, subsidized housing and senior citizens' housing; and on Saturday evening, at 7:00 p.m., a General Session and Panel Discussion.

Ms. Brown is scheduled to be the featured guest speaker during the Saturday evening activities.

The immediacy and need for the formation of a city-wide united tenants' movement is clear



*The City-Wide Tenants Conference in Chicago is vital since more and more families like the one pictured above are facing a crisis in obtaining decent low-income housing. Leading Black Panther Party member ELAINE BROWN (right) will be a featured speaker at the Conference.*

as vacancy rates drop throughout the city while rent rates soar. Said one Conference organizer: "We are moving into a vicious, life and death situation which will pit poor people against poor people, cause violent racial conflict and result in untold human misery. We must act boldly, decisively and quickly."

Local implementation of a viable urban renewal program — the Chicago 21 Plan, the Near North Plan, the Uptown Plan, the



Woodlawn Plan — has not resulted in the construction or rehabilitation of low-income housing.

Rather, they are programs to bring the White middle class back into the city by providing housing which meets their special interest needs. Neglected and tossed into the cruel cycle of endless moving from one neighborhood to another are the poor.

Worse, at the center of these plans is the dangerous determination to eliminate public housing from Chicago's inner city. Already Montgomery Wards has bought part of the notorious Cabrini Green housing projects and speculation runs high that private developers will buy up other public housing areas, destroying the low-income housing in favor of middle or upper-income residents.

"Tenants have not come together across this city and confronted the fact that there is a



## "Bruce Lee Celebration" At Sunday Forum

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Oakland Community Learning Center's All Open Martial Arts Program presented a "Bruce Lee Celebration Festival" at last Sunday's Community Forum.

The well attended program included guest presentations by Brothers BILL OWENS (top left), JULIUS BACON (top center) and LUTHER SUCREASE (top right).

The OCLC team (bottom) gave demonstrations on "Problem Solving" and "Survival in the Streets," in which students created street situations and correct martial arts methods of handling them successfully.

BPINS photos



*Christmas grocery bags which were distributed by Chicago ISC during their "Hard Times Christmas Party."*

## Chicago I.S.C. Sponsors Successful "Hard Times Christmas Party" For Over 1,500

(Chicago, Ill.) — After overcoming severe difficulties, the Intercommunal Survival Committee (ISC) here was able to sponsor a hugely successful "Hard Times Christmas Party" for nearly 1,500 Uptown residents last month.

For the past six years, the ISC has been sponsoring a Fred Hampton/Mark Clark Christmas Survival Program in memory of the tireless work Brother Fred put forth in initiating many needed programs for Chicago's Black and oppressed communities. The Program had always been able to distribute Christmas baskets to 400 to 500 people by obtaining contributions from stores and corporations who then write off the donations on their taxes.

However, this year it was different as there were few if any donations coming in. However, over 400 people were organized to work on various levels such as cooking, canning, soliciting donations, wrapping presents and bagging groceries. Some volunteers stood in near zero weather until 11:00 at night to help collect some of the \$2,000 that was raised.

The "Hard Times Christmas Party" was held on December 20 and nearly 700 people packed into a beautifully decorated hall at 4520 N. Beason. Everyone was served a delicious homecooked meal and afterwards groceries and toys were distributed to all of the families present.

During the festivities, one youth, George Roman, received a

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6



# GOVERNMENT "HEALTH" PROGRAM SPIES ON BLACK AND POOR CHILDREN

(Washington, D.C.) — Thirteen million children have become the latest target for federal government spying into the lives of U.S. citizens, *Pacific News Service* reports.

The CIA, FBI and the Army compiled dossiers on the personality, behavior, emotional attitudes and relationships of U.S. senators, their families and friends. Now the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) is doing the same for the children of the poor.

HEW has the best cover story of all.

It is offering free medical tests for all children whose families fall below the poverty line. The program, called Early and Periodic Screening, Diagnosis and Treatment (EPSDT), aims at detecting and preventing health problems among children who lack access to the medical facilities of the middle class.

But even as doctors probe these children for physical defects or symptoms of disease, they also test for personality and psychological disorders — signs used to predict the potential problem child, the deviant, the criminal. Unknown to the mother, doctors will observe and grade the relationship between parent and child. Their findings are then recorded in the child's federally computerized dossier.

## HEALTH SCREENING

According to James Kolb, HEW deputy director in charge of the program, around three million children across the country have already gone through some form of mental health screening.

Questions proposed for mothers of infants being screened include: "How did you feel when you were pregnant...?"; "How did your husband feel?"; "Do you want to have more children? If not, why not?"; and "Is this child smarter than your other children? Not as smart?"

Questions for mothers of 11-year-olds and teenagers, spelled out in the doctors' manual prepared by the American Academy of Pediatrics for EPSDT, include:

"Do you think that this person is generally pleasant and easy to live with?"; "Has this person been arrested or had other difficulties with the police?"; "Does this person regularly use tobacco, alcohol or drugs?"; and "Has this person had sexual intercourse?"

Parents whose children are



*A new federal government "health" program is aimed at spying into the lives of Black and oppressed children to begin mentally destructive "programming" at an early age.*

eligible for EPSDT but fail to apply for the testing will be sought out through the schools or in their homes by federally sponsored outreach programs.

The program provides no guarantee that medical treatment will follow, once the problems have been identified.

Unlike the physical check-up aspect, the mental health mass screening is entirely experimental — as Kolb himself admits.

Despite the fact that the program has been in existence for three years, HEW still has no guidelines for the mental health component. □

## I.S.C. Sponsors Christmas Party

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

brand new 10-speed bicycle for selling the most copies of *Keep Strong*, the monthly magazine published by the ISC in the last four months.

### 700 PEOPLE

Over 700 people lined up outside the hall for another program, held right after the first one at which another meal was served and more groceries and toys were distributed free to the community.

"We got what we came for," said one of those in attendance.

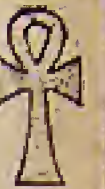
"This made my Christmas. We should work together like this all year around."

Meanwhile, federal court judge Sam Perry ruled that Chicago Mayor Richard Daley will not have to make a deposition answering questions prior to a \$47 million damage suit filed by the families of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Perry, who had previously dismissed Daley as a defendant in the suit, made the excuse that he was ending depositions because the case has taken too long to come to trial. □



*At ISC Christmas Survival Program free toys (left) were distributed to families among the 1,500 who attended (right).*

## OUR HEALTH



### Fluoride Linked

#### To Cancer

A controversy is growing among scientists as to whether fluoride, present in the water supply of thousands of communities throughout the U.S., causes cancer.

Low levels of fluoride have been added to local water supplies for the past 30 years following tests showing that the chemical prevents a significant amount of dental decay in children. However, one group of scientists charges that the practice may cause cancer while another denies that fluoride and cancer are in any way linked.

Many scientists support the position of the World Health Organization (WHO) that exposure to larger amounts of fluoride and a greater variety of chemicals in water supplies is mainly responsible for the rise in cases of cancer. Just how dangerous fluoride is is the center of debate.

A county-by-county analysis of cancer deaths in the U.S. between 1950-69 was published last spring by the National Cancer Institute. The study contained a number of categories, including the kinds of tumors that had shown up in various areas and the number of males and females stricken.

Drawing on some of this data, a private group of scientists found that there had been more cancer deaths in the fluoridated than in the non-fluoridated communities the Institute had studied. The group concluded that fluoridation may be contributing to as many as 25,000 of the approximately 350,000 cancer deaths now occurring each year in the U.S.

The Institute, however, disagreed with the findings of this group and made its own study of the county-by-county data. Last November the Institute announced that it had "found no trends attributable to the consumption of water that is naturally or artificially fluoridated."

Observers point out that there can be no immediate hard and fast answer to the link between fluoride and cancer but that intensive research is needed.



## Seattle Police Admit No Efforts Made To Hire Blacks

(Seattle, Wash.) - Seattle police chief Robert Hanson has been forced to admit that the Seattle Police Department is not putting forth any real concerted effort to recruit members from the Black community.

Out of the 55 now attending the Seattle Police Academy, only three are Black — two men and one woman. Currently there are only 22 Black officers in Seattle's 1,049-member force, a mere two per cent in comparison to the city's 10 per cent Black population. Out of these 22 per cent, only one has risen above the rank of patrolman, the lowest rank above police cadet.

According to Hanson a plan is being drawn up to improve recruiting procedures, but he still refuses to recognize racial discrimination charges filed against his Department by 20 of the force's 22 Black officers. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, January 3, 1976.)

### COMPLAINT

Meanwhile, U.S. Attorney Stan Pitkin revealed that his office is investigating only one complaint of a civil rights violation by the Seattle Police Department for keeping secret intelligence files. Both Pitkin and Kings County (Seattle) Prosecutor Chris Bayley announced that there is only one investigation underway although files were kept on 738 citizens. There are allegations that Seattle police even snooped into the background of Pitkin himself.

Hanson gave the excuse that "an absence of legislative oversight, coupled with a lack of clear direction and command" was a cause of past abuses.

According to the *Seattle Post Intelligencer*, the names of 150 citizens have been revealed as among the 738 who had intelligence files which were destroyed recently. Future city council hearings on police intelligence are scheduled. □

## Black Students Suspended

(Boston, Mass.) - About half of the Black students attending racially volatile South Boston High School refused to enter the school last week and were immediately suspended, according to *The New York Times*. Reasons for the 62 students' actions were not known. □

# DALEY REFUSES TO HIRE MORE BLACKS IN CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT

## Renault Robinson Blasts \$95 Million Bank Loan To City

(Chicago, Ill.) - Following his usual hard line on issues affecting Black and other minority people, Chicago Mayor Richard "Boss" Daley last week vowed to continue to violate a federal court ruling ordering the Chicago Police Department to hire more Black, Latin and women police officers.

Meanwhile, Renault Robinson, executive director of the Afro-American Patrolmen's League (AAPL), has charged two of Chicago's largest banks with "putting up the money to perpetuate racism" by loaning the city \$95 million to offset the 1975 federal revenue sharing funds withheld by the federal court because of Daley's refusal to comply with the ruling on racial quotas in the police department.

"The quota system is totally un-American," an "angry" Daley told a press conference at city hall. "We'll continue to fight this as long as we're around. The quota system is alien to America and shouldn't be used here."

"I wouldn't lay off anyone to comply with any quota system. Nobody has tried as hard as I have to get minorities in the police department," Daley said in his characteristically arrogant manner.

He claimed that if the \$95 million in revenue funds is



RENAULT ROBINSON (left), Black Chicago policeman who heads the Afro-American Patrolmen's League, has blasted Mayor Daley for perpetuating Chicago police racism and brutality (right).



released, the city would hire 400 more police officers. U.S. District Court Judge Prentice H. Marshall, whose ruling Daley has been fighting for over a year, is requiring that 42 per cent of new police officers hired be Black and Latin males, 16 per cent women and 42 per cent males from other racial groups until the Department reflects the racial and sexual makeup of the city's population as a whole.

Plaintiffs in the case are the U.S. Justice Department and Renault Robinson. The League

has also filed a separate action against the Department.

A recent article in the *Chicago Defender* stated that Daley may "forget about the federal money altogether rather than bow to the court" now that Continental and First National Banks have loaned the city the frozen revenue-sharing funds. The article went on to say that an additional real estate tax levy recently announced by Daley may be used to make up for the lost money if Judge Marshall should hold it indefinitely.

### BANKS

Blasting the action of the banks and the proposed real estate tax levy, Robinson said, "This is incredible. The mayor is going to penalize the whole city by raising property taxes because he refuses to give the court minimum assurances he is ending police discrimination. He won't even admit the city was ever guilty."

In December, 1974, Judge John Lewis Smith in Washington, D.C., ordered all revenue-sharing payments to Chicago stopped until the racial discrimination case was resolved. Further hearings on the revenue-sharing issue and the bias complaint were later transferred to Judge Marshall's court.

Officials of Continental and First National refused to comment on whether they support Daley's position on racial quotas. Edward Rob, senior vice-president of First National, said, "We see nothing wrong in lending the city money so it can pay its bills. Whether the city is guilty of discrimination is something for the courts to decide." □



## O.C.L.C. Free Legal Clinic Begins

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Oakland Community Learning Center's Free Legal Aid and Educational Program sponsored the first of a series of Legal Clinics last Thursday, January 8, at 7:00 p.m.

Brother MARK JOHNSON, representing Metropolitan Housing, and Mrs. DOROTHY PAYNES, representing the Alameda County Legal Aid Welfare Unit, were on hand to answer common questions concerning welfare, food stamps and landlord-tenant problems. The five Legal Clinics will be held at the OCLC every Thursday at 7:00 p.m.

BPINS photos





Prison cellblock.

## AFFIRMATIVE ACTION OPPOSED

## WHITE GUARDS SUE CALIF. CORRECTIONS DEPARTMENT

(San Francisco, Calif.) — A biased and racially-motivated suit was filed in Superior Court here recently accusing the California Department of Corrections (CDC), its director, Jeri Enomoto, and Carlos Sanchez, assistant director for personnel management and training, of hiring and promoting Black and minority people ahead of Whites.

The suit was filed by the conservative, right-wing 4,000 member California Correctional Officers Association (CCOA) on behalf of two White program supervisors at the California Conservation Center (CCC) at Susanville.

In this reactionary response to the state's affirmative action program, the suit seeks a court order against the CDC continuing its program of moving swiftly in minority job upgrading and promotions to correct past injustices.

## REEKS OF RACISM

Ken Brown, CCOA spokesperson, has acknowledged that the suit, which reeks of racism, does not even specify exactly how many White employees supposedly were discriminated against.

At his confirmation hearing earlier this year before the state Rules Committee, Jeri Enomoto, the new CDC head, announced the Department's new policy toward minority promotions.

A Department spokesperson said Enomoto has met with CCOA representatives and is "familiar with their complaints and is convinced his action is legal and proper."

The spokesperson went on to say that the Department will oppose the suit and, unless halted by the court, will continue its affirmative action program. □

## F.B.I. Gloated Over B.P.P. Murders

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

damaged the US San Diego headquarters and then attempted to attribute the blast to the Black Panther Party.

In a September 18, 1969, memo to then FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, the San Diego field office wrote that, "It is believed that the Black Panther Party is responsible for the bombing..." going on to add that, "Information concerning the possibility of US headquarters being bombed on the weekend of 8/30/69 was furnished to the San Diego Police Department prior to the actual bombing..."

Yet, San Diego Police Department officials, including those in charge of the homicide and special investigation units, refute the FBI claim that they were notified.

"It surprises me that... it wasn't documented as to which commanders they talked with," said one San Diego police official when informed that the FBI file did not contain that information.

Also, FBI attempts to undermine and sabotage the Chapter's Free Breakfast Program — revealed in the September 18 COINTELPRO document that welcomed the death of Sylvester Bell — through an anonymous telephone call protesting the program and a particular priest's active participation, were confirmed by church officials in San Diego.

The Rev. James Gallas, present pastor of Christ the King Catholic Church where the Breakfast Program was located, said that Rev. Frank Curran, "was bounced, kicked out of this diocese" because of his work with the Party.

Recalling the program, which was conducted from June through

August, 1969, Rev. Gallas said that the Black Panther Party "gave the kids vitamins, a terrific breakfast, then they would clean the hall better than the women ever did after a dinner."

The Party halted the program in August when US organization violence made the area where the Breakfast Program was located unsafe for the children.

The FBI anonymous phone call then ensured that the needed Survival Program never reopened.

An investigation into whether the Los Angeles Police Department cooperated with the FBI in provoking U.S. organization violence against the Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party was urged last Monday by City Councilman Robert Farrell.

Farrell suggested that the LAPD might be tied in and have contributed to the assassination of Black Panther Party leaders Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Huggins by US organization members on the campus of UCLA in January, 1969. □



San Diego Black Panther Party Chapter's John Savage Free Breakfast Program had to be closed because US violence created unsafe environment for children.

## PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

### Iranian Students "Unlimited" Fast

(San Francisco, Calif.) — An "unlimited" fast to protest death sentences handed down to 10 Iranian guerrillas is being conducted by 25 members of the Iranian Students Association here. The U.S. has 18,000 military "advisers" in Iran and it was for allegedly murdering three of them that the Iran guerrillas were sentenced to death by a firing squad.

### C.I.A. Spies To Be Exposed

(Rome, Italy) — Phillip Agee, former CIA spy turned Marxist author, says he and other critics of the spy agency will expose the names of CIA operatives in Spain, France, Italy and other countries in the coming months. Agee said he has already sent the names of 18 persons he has identified as CIA agents in Zaire and "15 probables" to the progressive Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).



### U.F.W. Stolen Documents

(San Jose, Calif.) — A mountain of stolen documents, files, letters and mailing lists, pilfered nearly a decade ago by confessed political burglar Jerry Ducote, surfaced for the first time here last week in a courtroom. Information belonging to United Farm Workers (UFW) leader Cesar Chavez and former Ramparts publisher Edward Keating was included. An ex-Santa Clara County deputy sheriff and John Bircher, Ducote faces 22 counts of political espionage.

### Construction Funds Unused

(Washington, D.C.) — The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) said last week that less than one-fourth of its funds for local construction was spent in fiscal year 1975. A spokesperson for HUD said that the spending delays have been caused by a federal requirement that all block grant programs meet national environmental standards, requiring a sometimes lengthy review process.

— Johnny Spains: "... a penetrating probe for truth

**HUEY  
NEWTON  
ERICKA  
HUGGINS  
INSIGHTS  
& POEMS**

When HUEY P. NEWTON, co-founder and ideologist of the Black Panther Party, disappeared in August, 1974, he left behind his INSIGHTS which embody, as Ericka Huggins has said, "a sensitivity and a humanness that make this man, in his aloneness, a friend to all people." ERICKA HUGGINS' POEMS are the telling introspective record of her own life during the years since her husband, Jon Huggins, was assassinated in Los Angeles in 1969. Since then she has also co-edited the Black Panther newspaper and is director of the Intercommunal Youth Institute, a model elementary school in Oakland.

INTRODUCTION BY ZENTATSU BAKER-ROSHI  
of the San Francisco Zen Center

**City Lights Books**

By Black Panther Party leader  
**HUEY P. NEWTON**  
and  
Oakland Community School Director  
**ERICKA HUGGINS**

\$2.00 City Lights Books  
Make checks payable to:  
Central Distribution  
8501 E. 14th Street  
Oakland, Calif. 94621



# NATIONWIDE APPEAL MADE FOR SUPPORT OF NORTH CAROLINA WOMEN INMATES

Rally January 16

(Durham, N.C.) - A call has gone out here for nationwide rallies to be held on January 16, the scheduled date for the beginning of hearings in Raleigh, North Carolina, in the \$25 million damage suit filed by inmates at the North Carolina Correctional Center for Women (NCCCW) for injuries they received following their peaceful protest last June against inhumane conditions at NCCCW.

Action For Forgotten Women (AFW), an NCCCW support group here, has issued the call and will be sponsoring a picket line in Raleigh on January 16 and periodically after that, depending on how long the hearings last.

In addition to rallies and picket lines, the AFW is urging individuals and organizations located in North Carolina to fill up the courtroom in Raleigh each day the hearings are conducted. Interested persons and groups outside North Carolina are asked to call press conferences to announce their support of the 37 Black and White women inmates and to write letters of support to either The Honorable Judge Dupree, U.S. District Court, Eastern District of North Carolina, Raleigh, North Carolina, or The Honorable James Holsouser, Governor, Governor's Office, Raleigh, North Carolina.

## SUIT

The suit was filed in U.S. District Court in Raleigh on December 4 by the National Conference of Black Lawyers. Defendants include Governor Holshouser and NCCCW officials. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, January 3, 1976.) The suit seeks the return of the women to the general population of the prison, the restoration of all their rights and privileges and the ending of all forced labor in the prison's notorious laundry until unsafe and unsanitary conditions are corrected.

The 37 plaintiffs — so-called "ringleaders" of the June 15-19 protest — have been the victims of brutal treatment by prison officials during the past six months. They have been beaten, placed in solitary confinement for unusually long periods of time, and denied needed medical treatment.

Ms. Jacquetta Davis, an NCCCW inmate, poignantly points out the cruelty of life for women incarcerated at NCCCW in the following letter:

*Inmates at N.C. Women's Prison care for fellow inmate injured by guards during the June 15-19 protest.*



"We, the Forgotten Women in North Carolina prisons, are a nation — apart of your nation out there. We are an oppressed group of people humiliated and oppressed into poverty and powerlessness.

"People out in society have (or seem to have) really forgotten women prisoners, because there is little said about the torture we receive, or the inhumane conditions we now live in. But when the pressure got so unbearable, we had to stand up.

"We realize we are women and not animals and we demanded to be treated as such, but in return we received severe beatings and punishment by locking us up, taking our privileges, and even

the transfer of women to men's institutions.

"We, the Forgotten Women, aren't happy in prison. Our lives are bitter, ugly, depressing, frightening and terribly lonely. We are human just like you. We were born with, and have a natural energy to live together in peace and harmony. But these madmen who control the lives of over 400 women have locked us away as animals, inflicting misery and suffering on us for their own psychopathic needs of money and power.

"We can't just wish these people away. We need the help of the people on the outside. THE TIDE OF REPRESSION NEEDS TO BE TURNED!!" □

## SPEAK-OUT ON THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

SPONSORED BY  
WEST COAST REGIONAL HARD TIMES CONFERENCE COMMITTEE



FRIDAY,  
JANUARY 16  
7:30 P.M.

MISSION UNITED PRESBYTERIAN  
CHURCH

23rd & Capp Streets — San Francisco

**WILBUR HADDOCK**

PRESIDENT, UNITED BLACK WORKERS, RAHWAY, N.J.

WILL BE A FEATURED SPEAKER

\$1.00 Donation Requested

## INMATE VICTORY

### Stateville Prison Segregation Unit Guards Transferred

(Chicago, Ill.) — Inmate protests over the racism and brutality of guards in the segregation unit of Stateville Prison in Joliet, Illinois, has forced the Illinois Department of Corrections to transfer out the entire staff there, according to a report in the *Chicago Defender*.

This startling move was announced only a few days after leaders of the Illinois Prisons and Jails Projects presented Illinois correctional officials with a long list of inmate complaints.

Among the complaints were:

- Sadistic treatment and vicious reprisals over protests were meted out to prisoners by the cellhouse lieutenant and other officers — known as the "goon squad" — in the segregation unit.

- Inmates who accused guards of assault were given lie detector tests by state police while guards were not subjected to such tests.

- Inmates were denied medical treatment for several days after being severely injured from beatings, even after screening by medical technicians proved that additional treatment was necessary.

- Food in the unit was being served from open containers.

The Jail Project also reported that the results of this brutality were clearly evident to even casual visitors.

"One resident's eye was partially swollen closed. Another had a bruised and bloodied mouth. . . . These residents were placed in restraining belts, handcuffed and led away when the committee tried to interview," according to the report.

Although Joseph Feconda, administrator of adult institutions in Illinois, refused to admit employee misconduct, Jails Projects leaders expressed their gratification that "the administration has moved responsibly to alleviate a dangerous situation." □

**Free  
All Political  
Prisoners**



# THE PROPER BLACK POSTURE IN ANGOLA

By Louis Clayton Jones

In the following article, reprinted from the New York Amsterdam News (December 20, 1975), Louis Clayton Jones calls on Black Americans to adopt a position on Angola that is independent of the racist, narrow-minded U.S. foreign policy and to analyze the Angolan conflict from the viewpoint that is in the interests of all the people of Angola.

Ten African governments have recognized the MPLA as the legitimate government of Angola.

The former head of the African desk at the State Department, prior to being forced out by Kissinger, warned against our involvement on the side of the two anti-MPLA factions on the grounds that they have neither the popular support nor the will to survive a confrontation with the MPLA. The anti-MPLA factions are fighting side-by-side with soldiers from the Republic of South Africa, and, prior to the CIA's intervention, Russian involvement was minimal.

## KNEE-JERK FASHION

In typical knee-jerk fashion, the executive branch of government has again conjured up the old domino theory and applied it to the whole continent of Africa. "If Angola goes communist, so goes the rest of Africa." One hardly needs to remind us of the crimes committed in Southeast Asia by the U.S. in furtherance of that discredited theory.

This time, however, not one drop of American blood is to be spilled in Africa. Our policy is that of the military stalemate. In other words, "let the Africans kill each other even down to the last man." We shall supply enough arms to the anti-MPLA factions to assure the stalemate. If it couldn't work in Vietnam with all the armed might of the United States Army, how does one expect it to work in Angola absent direct U.S. military intervention? We are, through the application of a poorly conceived, misguided, and bankrupt policy assuring the mergence of yet another Third World country which, after much shedding of blood, will look elsewhere for signals in plotting the economic and social theories for advancing the welfare of its citizens.

## On The Block

Should Black Americans Go To Fight Against African People In Angola?  
ASKED AT EASTMONT MALL.

Frank Battle  
7405 MacArthur Blvd.  
Attorney



*No, I believe that it is a civil war in Angola and I don't think we have any right to meddle in there.*

*They shouldn't. Because you're Black and I'm Black and the African people are Black.*

Chester Hobbs  
2021 High St.



*No, they shouldn't, I don't think it's right. I think the African people should make up their own minds for their own destiny. I think that is their right.*

*I don't think we should fight at all. Mainly, because this whole war is a set-up. Angola seems like it will be the same thing as Vietnam. It will just be brothers fighting against people of color. There is no reason at all why we should be over there.*

Anne Bias  
7100 Halliday  
Housekeeper



*No, they're all Black people and why should we want to fight against them.*

*Definitely not, because we're all Black people and we're supposed to pull together.*

Mr. McClain  
1711 98th Ave.  
Retired



*No, for the simple reason that even though we're here all our roots are over there. I think it is a political thing over there and we shouldn't interfere.*

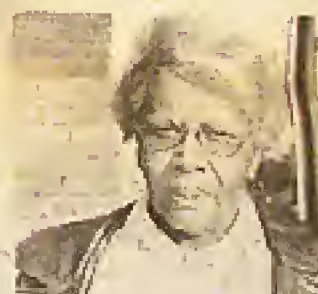
*If each individual and each country would fight its own war, it would be a better situation. It is always a situation where 90 percent of the Blacks end up killing each other.*



Ennies Hattisburg  
957 88th Ave.  
Retired



Bernard Blake  
Emeryville  
Student-Laney College



Mrs. Pickins  
Housewife



Bobbie Gentry  
1933 11th Ave.  
Store Manager

BPINS photos

Where does the American Black man fit into this rather grim scenario? More specifically, what is the proper posture of the Black intellectual in the Angolan situation?

In order to understand that question, one must first situate the Black man in the context of the American system. It is clear that he is not an integral part of the American scheme of things.

He does not serve on the Council of Economic Advisors; he is not a member of the National Security Council; he is not a counsellor to the President; he

does not serve on the Joint Chiefs of staff.

His stake in the preservation of the interests of this racist society is not so clear as that of the White intellectual who advises the White policymaker.

His perspective is from the periphery of the system while that of his White counterpart is from within the system. One might well argue, therefore, that the view from the periphery is likely to be far more accurate and precise than the view from within the system.

It is not accidental that Ralph

Bunche was the only American diplomat who was never perceived as an apologist for American foreign policy. Bunche was, in the truest sense, a citizen of the world.

In the finest tradition of Ralph Bunche, the Black American intellectual, standing, as he does at the periphery of American society, excluded from the massively polluted mainstream, possessed of the analytic abilities and skills of his White counterpart, yet devoid of his myopia, is, perhaps, the last American

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22



# JUSTICE DEPARTMENT CLAIMS NO CONSPIRACY EVIDENCE IN NEW KING MURDER PROBE

(Washington, D.C.) — Midway through what it will probably make its last investigation into the assassination of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., sources at the Justice Department claim that there is no new evidence that any persons other than convicted killer James Earl Ray were involved.

The current inquiry, conducted by the Department's Criminal and Civil Rights Divisions, was ordered by Attorney General Edward H. Levi last month after disclosures that Dr. King was the target of a vicious 10-year surveillance effort by the FBI, reports *The New York Times*.

In the hearings held by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, it was revealed how the surveillance mushroomed into a wholehearted attempt, spearheaded by the late FBI despot J. Edgar Hoover, to harass and discredit the Black civil rights leader.

This is not the first time that Justice Department lawyers, many of whom doubt that Ray alone was responsible for the April 4, 1968, assassination, have gone back over the evidence in a search for missing clues.

## UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

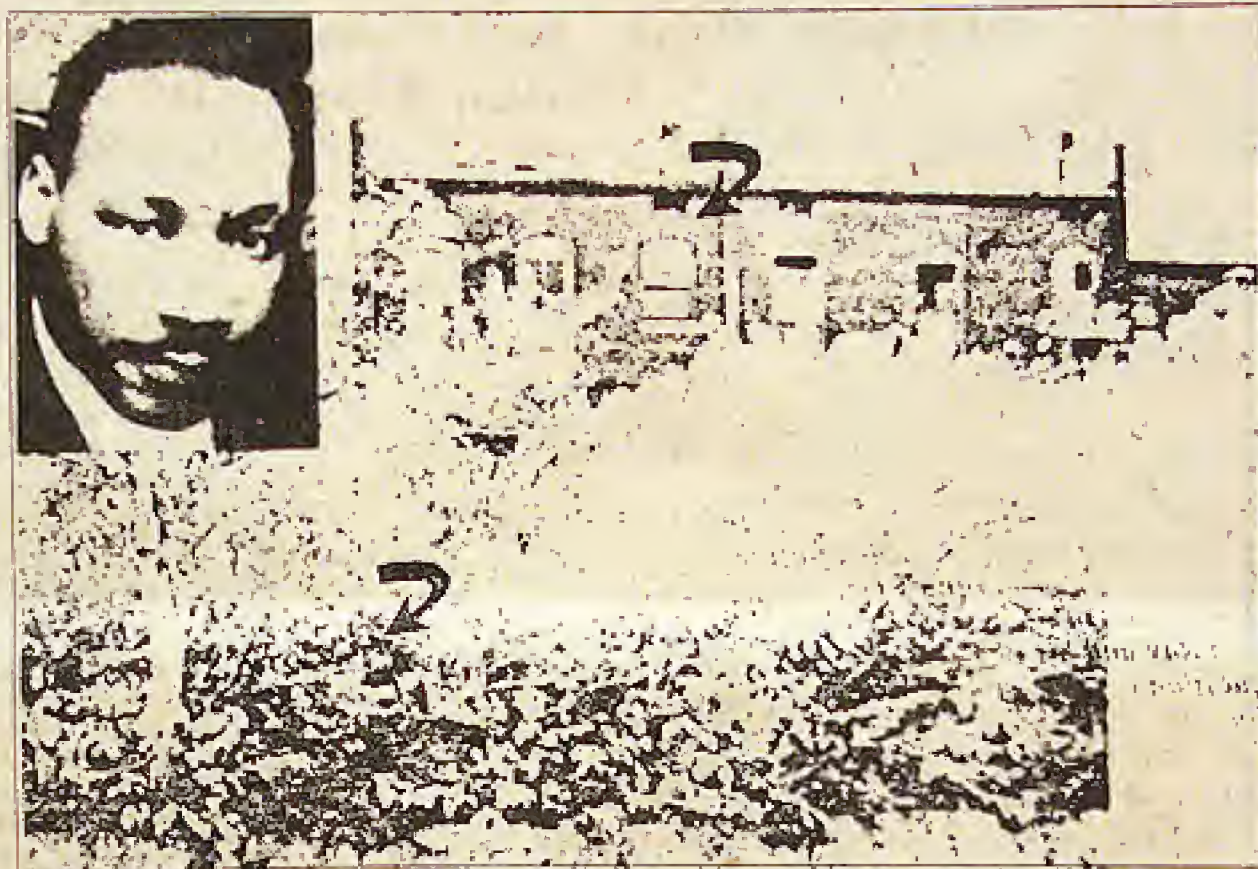
In 1971, according to one official, the Civil Rights Division, which has had primary responsibility for investigating the King murder since it occurred, reread the FBI's initial investigation "to determine if there were any questions unanswered that would merit reopening" a fullscale inquiry.

The lawyers examined the contents of 13 packing crates of investigative materials and did some detective work of their own, interviewing some of the witnesses and others connected with the murder whose stories they thought raised questions.

The King investigation was not reopened then, although unsuccessful efforts were made to bring Ray before a federal grand jury to document his private assertions that he had been part of a larger plot against Dr. King's life.

Nor was the investigation reopened three years later in 1974, when concerns voiced about the persistent possibility that Ray had not acted alone, resulted in yet another rereading of the full assassination file.

The depth of hatred felt by J. Edgar Hoover and other high Bureau officials toward Dr. King



Arrow at window shows position of James Earl Ray. Arrow in bushes pinpoints position of the real assassin of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING.

that was vividly exposed in the documents made public by the Senate Committee prompted Levi to ask for the current internal investigation.

This probe marks the first time that Justice Department lawyers have been given access by the FBI to the 96-volume "pre-assassination" file which describes the surveillance and harassment, and it is those documents that they are now studying closely.

The much larger report on Dr. King's assassination, already read and reread, is not being examined this time around, although some recent assertions that there was a conspiracy have

been checked, officials say, and found to be without substance.

The only hope that any light at all will be shed on the admittedly perplexing questions that still surround the King murder hinges on Ray's current appeal for a new trial.

Although Ray does possess knowledge of a conspiracy that he has concealed for seven years, it is questionable that any of it will seep out in his efforts to prove his innocence. But even so, it will not be by Ray's wishes.

Ray, one of his lawyers said recently, has no interest in helping "solve" the case. All he wants is an acquittal. □

## DELLUMS' CORNER

### Co-Sponsors Bill Making Oil Companies Liable For Spills

(Washington, D.C.) - Representative Ronald V. Dellums has joined in co-sponsoring the Federal Oil Pollution Liability and Compensation Act of 1975. The bill, introduced by Representative Gerry Studds, will guarantee compensation for those citizens who suffer property or income damage as a result of oil spills. It provides for the establishment of a domestic oil spill liability fund to be financed by a limited tax upon oil produced or utilized in this country.

The Federal Oil Pollution Liability and Compensation Act will require the owner of any tanker, oil producing or storage facility which is responsible for an oil spill to pay all the expenses for cleaning up the spill along with damages to those injured up to a specified liability limit. Limits would be set at \$150 million a ton for oil tankers, \$50 million for onshore and offshore oil producing and storage facilities, and \$100 million for deep water ports. Beyond these limits, damages would be paid by the Oil Spill Liability Fund.

Dellums believes this legislation is necessary to protect innocent parties that suffer as a result of oil spills. Since the owners of the facilities will be forced to repair the damages they cause, more stringent protective measures will be instituted. Dellums feels that once an ocean or a stretch of beach has been victim of an oil spill, even though a large amount of money is spent on restoration, it will never be the same.

The popular Bay Area congressman hopes that this legislation will cause the producers to take more careful preventative steps.

## CHICANO DISCRIMINATION

### Federal Court Judge O.K.'s Segregated School System In San Jose

(San Jose, Calif.) — In a dubious decision, U.S. District Court Judge Robert F. Peckham ruled in San Francisco last week that schools here are not un-Constitutionally segregated, although he found that they are racially imbalanced.

Judge Peckham ruled that the San Jose Unified School District had "never acted with segregative intent" and so he had no authority to order integration, reported *The Los Angeles Times*.

Peckham noted that the School District admitted the existing racial imbalance but argued it resulted from demographic and residential patterns over which it had no control and not from its intentional conduct.

## CLASS ACTION SUIT

The class action suit was brought by parents on behalf of several Spanish-surnamed children. They contended that the District and its officials had operated a segregated public school system in violation of the 14th Amendment.

Peckham said the plaintiffs failed to prove there was segregative intent in the racial imbalance.

In the fall of 1973, the District operated 43 schools with 36,687 students, 24.6 per cent of whom were Spanish-surnamed. The bulk of the students with Spanish surnames were in northern downtown schools, while less than one per cent were in schools in the southern area of the District.

Five years earlier, in 1968, the state had advised the San Jose District that 41 of the 50 schools it then had were racially imbalanced.

The judge ignored all this by offering the rationalization that there had been no evidence of gerrymandering, or tampering with school boundaries to maintain segregation, that the District has acknowledged that segregation was "inherently harmful" and that a study was needed. □

Quality

Education

For All



# ...And Bid Him Sing

By David G. Du Bois

Exciting New Novel Examines Lives Of  
Black Americans In Egypt

*This week's excerpt from ...And Bid Him Sing continues a conversation in which Suliman Ibn Rashid asks his newspaper friend, Bob Jones, about the possibility of some of his (Suliman's) poetry being published.*

## PART 14

Having gotten the words out, apparently with some difficulty, he leaned back and, for the first time since he'd been in the apartment, smiled a big, self-confident smile. He had finished the hashish cigarette before he rose to read the poem. Now he began to make a second and asked: "You smoke?"

"I have but not much. It don't do much for me. My boss got me high the first time. He's not really a smoker. I think he just wanted to see how I'd carry on. I got high all right. . . and mellow and sleepy. That was about it. He offered to get some girls. I think he thought I was starving for sex. But I told him later for that scene and came home and went to bed.

Going to sleep was crazy, though, like way out. Got scared at one point. But fell asleep before I could get myself together to do anything about it. Felt fine next morning. I think I was still a little high."

## STORY

The story seemed to please Suliman and he began to see the room he was sitting in. He asked about the records piled on the coffee table; called the photo of Paul Robeson on the wall "a gas"; finished rolling his cigarette, lit it and got up to look at a large three-dimensional map of Africa that hung behind my desk. Standing before the map, he asked: "What language is this?"

"Russian. I bought it at last year's book fair here. I get a kick out of imagining how the mountain ranges, the plains, the rivers and lakes, the deserts and the fertile coastal areas really look. Gives me a whole new perspective on this continent."

"Dig the size of Mother Africa," Suliman exclaimed, almost if he had not heard what I'd said. "You could put the whole of Europe inside her ten times." He was running his finger tips lovingly over the raised areas.

"The size of Europe in relation to Africa isn't what it appears

to be on that map, you know," I began "...because of the. . ."

"Aw man," he interrupted, "That's some more of Whitey's shit! You still listening to what that white devil says? He sure got our brains twisted." Almost lunging away from the map toward me, he thrust out to me the cigarette he'd been smoking and resumed his place on the sofa. I hesitated a split second before accepting the cigarette, took it, knocked off the excess ash into an ashtray and took a deep, lingering drag that I savored for some seconds and then let slowly escape in thick, white streams from both nostrils. I winced, turned slightly away from Suliman and after a bit repeated the operation with equal relish, leaving a long, glowing red coal of ash on the cigarette end. Wincing more this time, I handed the butt back to Suliman, coughed sharply twice, took a sip from my brandy, and, looking up, returned Suliman's startled gaze with an embarrassed smile.

"Oh yeeeeaaaaah. . .!" Suliman almost shouted with delight, drawing out the word in a way I'd not hear since I left the States. "And all this time I been thinkin' you some kinda square head! Wow! Where'd you learn to blow like that!?"

"After all, I've been here more than six years and all my closest

*Moslem mosque in Community X, an ancient section of Cairo, Egypt.*



friends are Egyptians and almost all of them smoke, when they can get it. . .but, what made you think I was a square head?"

"The way you talk. . .and all these books. Man you got to be some kinda intellectual. Anybody'd known you didn't come off the streets like me. You ain't s'pose to know about all that jive!"

"Yeah. . .well. . .I guess. . . My father was a Methodist minister in the Indiana hick town I was born and raised in. My brother and me were supposed to act like the preacher's boys. I suppose we did, mostly. Never left the place until I went into the

army. Got shipped to Fort McClellan, Alabama, and after that overseas to the Philippines. My brother was older than me. He was killed in Europe.

## G.I. BILL

"After the war I went to a little college in Ohio on the G.I. Bill. Graduated, worked for a while as a music teacher, got bored and split. I was really on my way to East Africa. But I stopped here, liked it and been here ever since. . . it sure don't seem like six years ago."

"You like it here?" Suliman asked incredulously.

"Yeah, I like it. I like my job. I like the weather and I like the people."

"These people make me sick!" he said with contempt.

"Why? How?" I asked, feeling the die was cast. . . we had to talk about it.

"Man, don't you see it?" He sat forward on the sofa, agitated, crushing out the cigarette in an ashtray as he did so. "They don't know who they are. They crack up when they see a brother from Ghana in his traditional robes. They go all to pieces, laughin' and nudgin' each other, actin' like fools!"

"They crack up when they see an Egyptian in what for them is some outlandish costume," I rebutted. "Just last week they had to call out the riot police to rescue two mini-skirted girls who happened to be passing a movie that was discharging its 99 per cent male audience."

TO BE CONTINUED



...AND BID HIM SING

An exciting novel of Black Americans living in Egypt in the 1960s

By BLACK PANTHER Intercommunal News  
Service Editor-in-Chief DAVID G. DU BOIS

"...David G. Du Bois' first novel makes a new space on the slim shelf labelled Black expatriate fiction... (his) frighteningly accurate characterization of Ugly Afro-Americans in Africa is a sobering reminder of the special cultural baggage and blinders we carry home. In this case home is Cairo, Egypt. . . In And Bid Him Sing, David Du Bois has given us a picture of our sixties through the eyes of another Black culture and understanding."

"Those of us who are planning to visit or live in Africa should see And Bid Him Sing as a kind of guide to bad manners abroad. And we who are ready to nostalgize the sixties would do well to read and recognize some parts of all of ourselves who grew so quickly and changed our race before we could change our minds."

Francille Rusan Wilson  
The Black Scholar

\$8.95 Ramparts Press

Please make checks payable to:

Central Distribution  
8501 E. 14th Street  
Oakland, CA. 94621



# REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton

## "Scoring"

As we have seen in previous excerpts of "Scoring" from Revolutionary Suicide by Huey P. Newton, the leader and chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party, Huey's knowledge of criminal law prevented him from being railroaded into prison many times. However, the event described in this portion of the chapter led to a trial where we will clearly see how this country's judicial system is stacked against Black and poor people.

### PART 33

Then came the second trial. This time I had the books in court, but nobody could identify them. I had acquired some different books — same authors and same names — and put some similar markings in them. The man who

claimed his car had been burglarized, the Dean, and the owner of the bookstore could not positively identify them. They kept saying that the books were either similar or the same, but they were not sure.

I emphasized this uncertainty, saying that all I knew was I had purchased the books from another person. I told the jury that I had not in fact stolen the books and that by bringing them to court I was trying to find out if they belonged to those who had brought the charges. I got another hung jury.

They tried me a third time, with the same result. When they brought the case up a fourth time, the judge dismissed it. Off and on, with continuances and mistrials, the case dragged over a period of nine months. It was simple harassment, as far as I was concerned, because I had not stolen the books.

They might also have been trying to test new prosecutors: I had a different one every time, every chump in Alameda County, and still they got nowhere. I looked them straight in the eye and advanced.

### THIRD CASE

The third case came out of a party I attended with Melvin at the home of a probation officer who had gone to San Jose State College with him. Melvin had known some of the people at the party quite a while, and most of them were related to each other in some way, either by blood or by marriage. Melvin and I were outsiders.

As usual, I started a discussion. A party was good or bad for me depending on whether I could start a rap session. I taught that way for the Afro-American Association and recruited a lot of the lumpens.

Some of these sessions ended in fights. It was almost like the dozens again, although, here, ideas, not mothers, were at issue. The guy who could ask the most penetrating questions and give the smartest answers "capped," or topped, all the others. Sometimes after a guy was defeated, or "shot down," if he wanted to fight, I would accommodate him. It was all the same. If I could get into a good rap and a good fight, too, the night was complete.

At the party, while we were talking, someone called Odell Lee



Young protester reminds the world that certain basic rights taken for granted by this country's majority population are conveniently ignored in the case of Black and oppressed people.

came up and entered the conversation. I did not know him, had only seen him dancing earlier in the evening, but I had gone to school with his wife, Margo, who was there. Odell Lee walked up and said, "You must be an Afro-American," I replied, "I don't know what you mean. Are you asking me if I am of African descent, or are you asking me if I'm a member of Donald Warden's Afro-American Association? If the latter, then I am not. But if you're asking me, if I'm of African ancestry, then I am an Afro-American, just as you are." He said some words in Chinese and I came back in Swahili.

Then he asked me, "Well, how do you know that I'm an Afro-American?" I replied, "Well, I have twenty-twenty vision, and I can see your hair is just as kinky as mine, and your face just as black, so I conclude that you must be exactly what I am, an Afro-American."

Saying that, I turned my back and began to cut my steak. I was the only one in the room with a steak knife. All the others had plastic utensils, but since the steak was kind of tough, I had gone into the kitchen for a regular steak knife. Having made my point, my move, so to speak, I turned my back on Lee in a kind of put-down. To him it was a provocative act.

### FACE SCAR

Odell had a scar on his face from about the ear to just below his chin. This was a very significant point, because on the block you run into plenty of guys with scars like that, which usually means that the person had seen a lot of action with knives. This is not always the case, but when you are trying to survive on the block, you learn to be hip to the cues.

So I turned my back and began cutting steak with the knife I had

in my right hand. He grabbed my left arm with his right and turned me around abruptly. When he did, my knife was pointed right at him in ready position. Lee said, "Don't turn your back on me when I'm talking to you." I pushed his hand off my arm. "Don't ever put your hands on me again," I said, and turned around once more to my steak.

### SECOND TIME

Ordinarily I would not have turned my back a second time, because he had all the signs of a tush hog. But somehow the conditions did not add up. Most people there were professionals — or training to become professionals — and this man with the scar did not seem to fit. We were not on the block, so I thought perhaps the scar meant nothing.

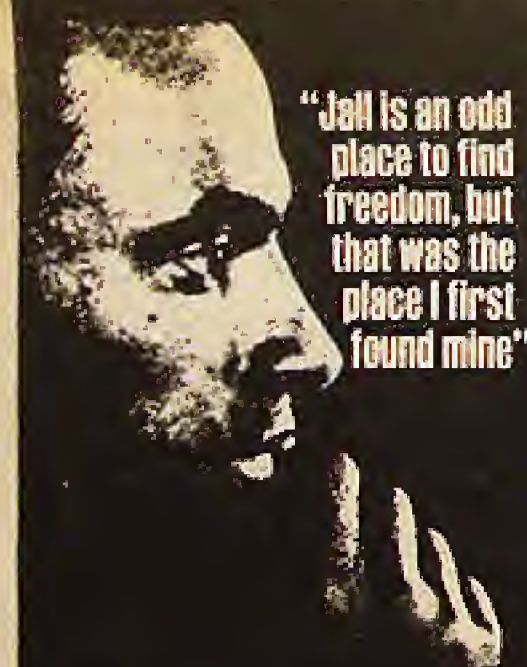
All of a sudden, however, he was acting like a bully, and now he wanted everyone to know he was not finished with me. When I turned my back on him a second time, this would have ended the whole argument for the Black bourgeoisie, but the tush hog responded in his way.

He turned me around again, and the tempo picked up. "You must not know who you're talking to," he said, moving his left hand to his left hip pocket. I figured I had better hurry up. Since the best defense is a good offense, my steak knife was again in a ready position, instinctively.

I said to him, "Don't draw a knife on me," and I thrust my knife forward, stabbing him several times before he could come up with his left hand. He held on to me with his right hand and tried to advance, but I pushed him away. I still do not know what he was doing with his left, but I was expecting to be hurt any time and determined to beat him to the punch.

TO BE CONTINUED

## REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE



"Jail is an odd place to find freedom, but that was the place I first found mine"

Huey P. Newton

With power and passion, the co-founder of the Black Panther Party tells his life story. Here is the dynamic account of the making of a revolutionary. Boyhood amid a deeply religious and loving family. Adolescence as thief, hustler, ghetto-survivor. Murder trial for the death of a policeman—a cause celebre that inspired the militant cry "Free Huey." Conviction. Imprisonment. And final exoneration. Huey P. Newton's autobiography "in a most moving sense is a testament to the black American's pain and dilemma in the 1970s." —Publishers Weekly

24 pages of photographs \$8.95

To purchase this book, send \$8.95 (hard-bound) or \$1.95 (paper-back) in cash or money order to: Central Distribution, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621. Also available by Huey P. Newton: To Die For The People. \$1.95.

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich



EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW

# JOHNNY SPAIN ON THE SAN QUENTIN 6 TRIAL

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

Johnny has survived, and in the process has forged a shining example of a brilliant new humanism based upon principles of love and liberation, for all those who dare to step forward as he has done selflessly in the cause of the people.

Following, Brother Johnny Larry Spain speaks out in an exclusive interview with THE BLACK PANTHER.

B.P.: How do you view the progress of the San Quentin 6 case?

JOHNNY: Well, during the prosecution's case, I think that significant steps were made in favor of the defense. The weaknesses of the prosecution's case, in the first place, were the multiple manifestations of falsified testimony, the erasure of tapes and all of those things that went down. It was incredible that they allowed it to continue.



Comrade GEORGE JACKSON.

Most of the prosecution witnesses have proven many of the allegations that we have made in our opening defense arguments, one of which concerns George (Jackson) of course. Prosecution witnesses made many statements on August 21, 22 and 23, taped statements, and then they come to trial four years later, and they change the statements around.

Secondly, all of the prosecution witnesses admit reviewing their statements in front of each other in order not to contradict each other, but still the contradictions were there.

Another significant point, I think, was the part of the trial that concerned the actual shooting of George Jackson. I'll try to run through it briefly:

They said that George exited the Adjustment Center and was running in a northerly direction, toward the North Wall, and that the first shot fired at him was from the east, which would be the #1 balcony. They say that the shots hit him in the ankle, caused him to stumble, tumble and fall and get back up and start running again, continuing his northerly path. Then they say a second shot was fired

from the rear of George, from a height of 20 to 30 feet, and that this was the shot that entered the back, went through and cracked his ribs and finally exited the skull. This was the testimony given by the prosecution witnesses.

First of all, the original autopsy released in 1971 said that George was shot in the head. Then they changed the trajectory and the path of the bullet. Finally they said the bullet entered his back.

But, as the evidence unfolded — and this is what the prosecution witnesses remember — we found out first of all that the shot that was purportedly fired from #1 balcony (from the east of George if he was running in a northerly direction), that this shot, if it was fired, did not hit him at all. This relates specifically to the ankle wound. The entry of this wound was from the west, and there are no gun towers to the west where they say George was. Unless a bullet can be fired from the east, reach its target, and then zip around or do an about face, unless that can happen, then that story is absurd.

The prosecution tried very hard to change those statements around, to make a new entry wound, and say that the wound was from the east. But all the evidence they have shows that that is totally impossible.

Even if that was the case, the specific type of wound that George received in the ankle was of such a nature that he could not physically get up and run again. Doctors have testified to this.

George was shot one time in the ankle. After that, when he was lying down unable to move, our evidence will show that George was shot, not point blank range, but from a distance of not more than 20 to 30 feet away from ground level. George was not killed instantly as they say he was, running toward the North Wall.

B.P.: How much does the assassination of George Jackson figure into the defense's case, the entirety of the events of August 21, 1971? How much did his assassination affect the prison movement?

## PRISON MOVEMENT

JOHNNY: A lot of people have said that since the assassination of George, the prison movement died also. That's not true. In the struggle you will suffer setbacks, and, of course, the assassination of George was a setback. But we haven't lost him totally. There was a George Jackson.

Regarding the death of George and how that actually went down: First, all the guards who took the stand, doctors, the investigators from the CCI (California Corrections Investigations), all the people that made up this silly story of how they say George was killed—they should be in chains.

We didn't have any guns, you know. We didn't have any carbines. We didn't shoot George. They admit they shot George, but they admit only a part of how he was actually killed. Once this is put over to the jury, I would be willing to rest the case right there.

Along these same lines, I think we have totally destroyed the state's contention of a conspiracy between George Jackson and Stephen Bingham (the radical lawyer alleged by prison officials to have "smuggled" a gun into San Quentin). The state has already admitted in its opening statement that it could

not prove any of the six of us actually committed any crimes, but we were supposed to have joined some conspiracy. Even going by the evidence the state put forth, it is clear that Stephen Bingham could not have brought a gun into this prison and that the only people who could have brought a gun into the prison are the prison guards and prison administration. I read an article in *The New York Times* that said that Stephen Bingham is still alive. Well, if he is, he should come back right now and demand a speedy trial because they have not proven a thing against him. The state's evidence clearly shows that someone other than Stephen Bingham brought a gun in.

With those two points—the "conspiracy" theory of the state is completely destroyed and the truth of how George was actually murdered by these people after he had been wounded—I'd be willing to rest the whole case.

B.P.: To switch up a little, Judge Zirpoli's ruling is on everyone's mind as well as the prison officials' hostile reaction. Has the ruling been implemented? Are you satisfied with it?

## SIGNIFICANT

JOHNNY: I thought that it was very significant that a federal District Court judge would order the removal of the chains and the removal of the five of us remaining in the AC to the mainline. But one of the most important things about his decision is the impact it will have on the whole prison system. Zirpoli did not just confine his ruling to the six of us. Sure, he mentions us specifically, but he says that no person should be subjected to what we have already been through. I think that is significant for all prisoners.

As you can see, I still have leg irons and chains on here at San Quentin. I have to say that they've stopped using the neck chains in transporting us from here (in the visiting room) to our cells. But that's the only thing they've done. Plus we can sometimes go into the yard.

So, Zirpoli's decision has actually been ignored. It's been publicly put forth that the guards will go on strike if they put us on the mainline. In essence, it's been ignored.

B.P.: What do you think about the guard's statements that your life would be threatened if you were in the mainline?

JOHNNY: There are several ways of looking at that. Any time you go to the extremes that the CDC has gone to since

August 21—to dehumanize us, everything has been done to us—if I had done all the things they have done to us, and then someone comes along and says "unchain them," I would be scared to let them go, too. They're not concerned about the well being of any of the brothers in here. I don't think any of the prisoners would move against any of us. That's not to say that someone couldn't be given parole. They do that anyway. That could be done anywhere, against any prisoner they didn't like. But I can't see my life being in danger in this case. I can see some paranoid guard going crazy. I feel that if they let all five of us out on the mainline, the majority of the guards who have done wrong to us would quit. There are guards right now who know within themselves that they have not done anything to us personally, and they don't fear us. I've had my chains removed for a medical examination here and there, and these guards are not afraid because they have nothing to fear.

## QUESTIONS

B.P.: Why are you still in the AC and why were you put here in the first place?

JOHNNY: O.K., let me reverse those two questions. I was placed in the AC at Soledad because of "possession of inflammatory writings." That was the official term they used for some of my personal possessions, a diary, poetry and other writings I have compiled. These weren't being circulated but they were still considered inflammatory writings.

One other reason they gave at Soledad was that I allegedly possessed a strike manifesto. Actually, what happened was that the manifesto was very long. Typed out it was 20 or so demands, and since I knew why each demand was being made, what I did was to paraphrase each of them into a single sentence. The only one that I did quote in its entirety was demand #16 which was confinement, from the 1954 Geneva Accords. It was one of the points made about political prisoners. So, in fact, there was no strike manifesto in my possession. From Soledad's AC, I was transferred to San Quentin, and idiotic though it may be on the CDC's part, most of the so-called "inflammatory" material that was taken from me was given back when I was transferred to San Quentin. That shows the absurdity of my being put in the "hole" in the first place.

It was quite obvious from the events that were going on at Soledad that one of the other reasons I was placed in the AC is that I am a

member of the Black Panther Party. As simple as that. Judge Zirpoli noted that in his ruling. Why am I still in the AC? I am still a member of the Black Panther Party.

The prison has stated officially that we are being kept in the AC because of the trial. One of their rules—DP4509—is that any person who is under indictment or has pending criminal charges against him, the Classification Committee would consider that these charges are truth. According to the CDC rules, we (San Quentin 6) are guilty.

B.P.: Why did you join the Black Panther Party?

JOHNNY: At the time I joined the Black Panther Party, there were a lot of people who were concerned about what was going on inside the prisons and outside the prisons. They recognized the injustices and some of them had actually experienced the injustices. In 1966, when the Party was organized, there were many people who wanted to do something, but they were going in so many different directions that the diversity of energy wasn't accomplishing very much.

Then the Party came about and energy was focused. We had the leadership, the membership and the programs to push forward in a manner that would be constructive. Back in '69 and '70 I recognized this. I wanted to use my energies constructively. I didn't want to be just another element of force, like a falling star, which, as brilliant as it may be, reaches a certain point and just loses everything. I didn't want to have that happen to my energies. The Party's programs and practices were consistent with my own beliefs. With the Party's emphasis upon structure, discipline and education—and this is within the Party itself—I felt I could be a part of this and give everything to the constructive force of the Party. Then, as now, I feel that the steps that need to be taken the Party is taking.

When Party members went to Sacramento over the gun issue, this frightened the hell out of the power structure. But nothing frightens them more than seeing children helped, (not trained, but helped to learn, so that they can learn how to think as opposed to what to think. Nothing scares them more than seeing children develop the way children do in countries like China and Cuba.

## REGRETS

B.P.: In view of what has happened to you, do you regret joining the Party?

JOHNNY: No, I don't regret it. You know, a lot of times I think back about a lot of things and naturally the question arises. All people say to themselves, "What would have happened if I had such and such a thing to do over again?" But in relation to joining the Party and the things that have happened since as a direct result of being a member of the Black Panther Party. No, I don't regret anything that has happened.

The persecution inflicted on not only myself but the whole Black Panther Party does not turn me away from what I believe, but actually confirms what I believe. Before 1966, there wasn't a Black Panther Party to direct this type of force against the massive assaults and persecution that we and other people have endured.

Just to say that I have no regrets doesn't really express what I feel. I feel that what all of us are experiencing in terms of survival—and we are going to survive the attempts by the



Comrade JOHNNY SPAIN.

powers that be to destroy us—we're going through this now. But when I think and look at the children—and anytime I say the children I mean the future—they might not have to go through as much of what we have gone through.

I think Comrade Huey (Newton) put it in beautiful terms, "Revolutionary Suicide."

B.P.: What is San Quentin's Adjustment Center like? How do you survive there?

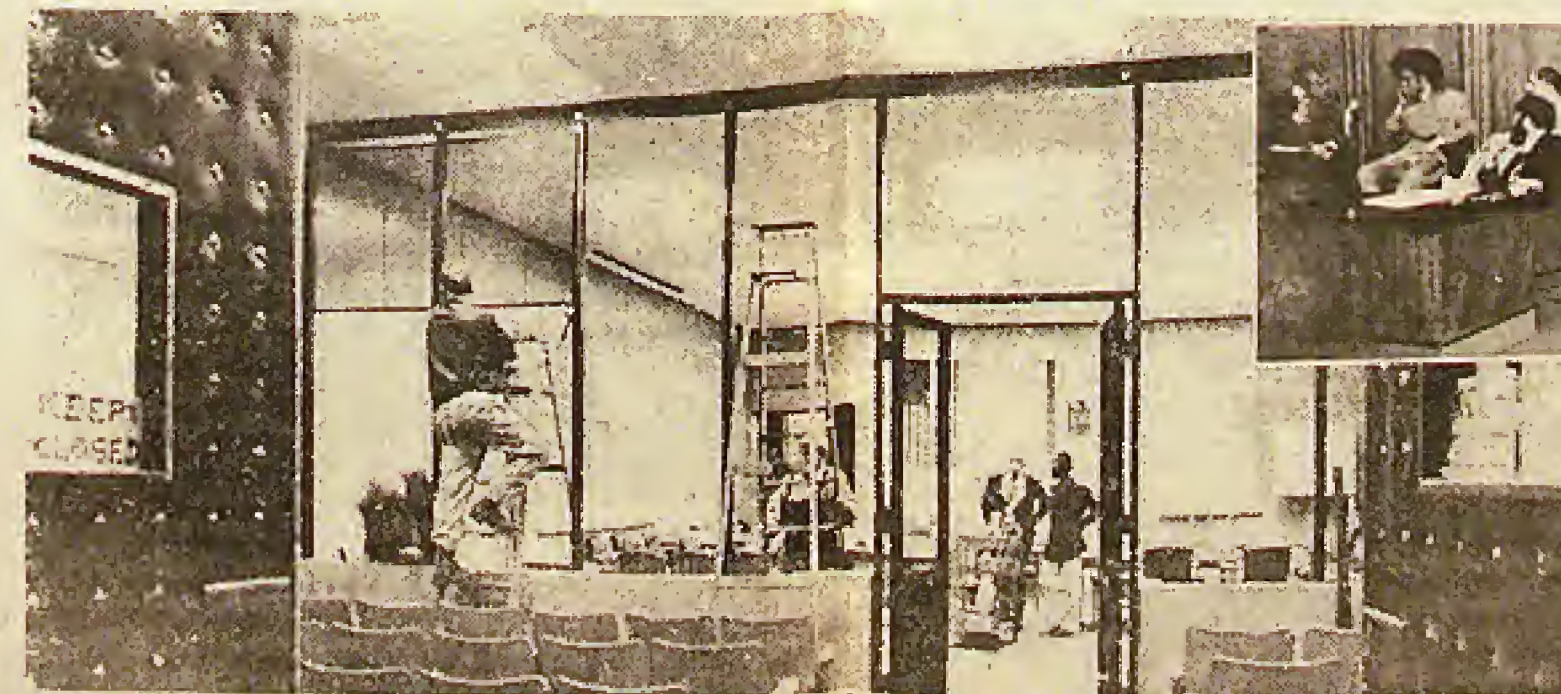
JOHNNY: It's a frustrating situation regardless of how strong I might want to be within myself. Most of this frustration is overcome by reading and studying all I can. A minor incident that may come up I try to take that and understand it. I have known guards who have expressed in no uncertain terms that they would kill us if they could get away with it. I try to understand what makes this guy (the guard) think like he does. I'm not saying that I'm going to put myself in a position in which he has the opportunity to carry out his idiotic fantasies—which would be killing me and finding a justification for it in his idiotic fantasies.

B.P.: What type of activities do you have to utilize in order to survive and keep a clear frame of mind?

JOHNNY: One of the most difficult things to do in here is to have something to occupy yourself with that is constructive. It is sometimes difficult to actually see that what you're doing is really constructive. If it is not constructive, people go off into delusions, cold fantasies.

So, one of the things that I think is essential to maintaining one's sanity is support from the outside. One of the real rewards for the energies that I have put in the things I do is the children. A lot of children come up for the trial and to see a three-year-old write—well, this gives me a sense of accomplishment. I know that I'm not at the (Oakland Community) School actually teaching them, but with the sense of oneness we feel in the Party, I know that they are a part of me and that we are all a part of each other.

Support is very important. People outside should take the time to communicate as much as possible with people inside prisons.



Bulletproof plexiglass wall being constructed for handling of the San Quentin 6 court case. JOHNNY SPAIN (inset, center) is chained and shackled behind this partition during every court session he attends.



# THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

## MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

### WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

#### 1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

#### 2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

#### 3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

#### 4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

#### 5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

#### 6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

#### 7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor

people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

#### 8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

#### 9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

#### 10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



# Intercommunal News

## U.S. CONTINUES MERCENARY OPERATIONS AGAINST M.P.L.A. IN ANGOLA

(Angola) — Reports that recruiting and training of American mercenaries to fight in Angola has come to an abrupt halt in the United States have been met with skepticism and a "so what" by careful observers of U.S. policy in southern Africa.

The weak and unconvincing denials by the White House that the U.S. is not recruiting and training U.S. mercenaries in the U.S. is now further exposed. Neither White House spokesman Ron Nessen nor President Gerald Ford said such activity had not been going on. All they both said was that it is not now going on, obviously following the issuance of orders to cover it up or suspend the activity until the heat dies down.

Christian Science Monitor Editor John Hughes, whose paper made the initial revelations of U.S. recruiting and hiring of U.S. ex-servicemen, told the *Associated Press* that "we stand by the *Monitor* story completely." He said, "We believe our sources to be reliable. We have total confidence in our correspondent." Those sources were described last week as "senior mercenary officers close to the CIA and familiar with what was going on in the United States and in Angola."

Meanwhile, it would appear that U.S. pressure on the Republic of South Africa has convinced

that country of the wisdom of withdrawing its regular army troops from Angola. This move is the result of fear that with the continuing presence of South African troops in Angola, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) meeting scheduled to open January 10 would call upon African nations to recognize the legitimate government of the People's Republic of Angola, under the leadership of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

None should be fooled, however, by any announced withdrawal of South African troops

from Angola. All this would really mean is that the recruitment and training of White mercenaries would be greatly stepped up; that the U.S. and South Africa would provide the funds and facilities for this effort and that a massive White mercenary force would replace the present regular army South African troops.

Neither Ron Nessen nor Ford would say that the U.S. is not financing and training foreign mercenaries to fight in Angola, leaving the very clear implication that it is. Whether those Whites who fight in Angola against the legitimate government of Angola



Map of Mozambique.

## FRELIMO Crushes Takeover Attempt In Mozambique

(Lourenco Marques, People's Republic of Mozambique) — FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front) remains firmly in control of this East African country following a recent attempted overthrow of the government here by reactionary elements in the armed forces.

Mozambique Radio, as reported in *The New York Times*, said that about 400 dissident soldiers and policemen were defeated by the Popular Forces of Liberation (PFL) and government police in nearly two days of fighting in the capital city.

Under the leadership of FRELIMO, the Mozambican army in recent months has been seeking to purify its ranks of what it described as "corruption." Several hundred soldiers, policemen and civilians were arrested, some on charges of promoting subversion in the armed forces.

Since the People's Republic of Mozambique won independence from Portugal last June, there have been consistent reports of unrest in the army. *The Times* said. Radio Mozambique described the attempted coup as an effort by reactionary elements "to stop the campaign against enemy activities promoting corruption and undiscipline in the armed forces."

Radio Mozambique was the first target of the dissidents who also attacked a power station and the town hall. The airport of Lourenco Marques was closed to international traffic, and fighting reportedly spread into the impoverished areas of Lourenco Marques on the outskirts of the city. □



MPLA soldiers on guard in Luanda.

## THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

25¢



As a bonus to readers who renew their subscription to **THE BLACK PANTHER**, for a limited time only we're offering FREE a copy of the Fall '74 issue of the **CoEVOLUTION QUARTERLY**, guest edited by the Black Panther Party.

This informative magazine describes, in detail, the many Survival Programs to which your subscription contributes. Writings by Huey P. Newton, Elaine Brown, George Jackson, Ericka Huggins and David Du Bois are also featured.

Enter My Subscription For:	Domestic	Foreign
3 MONTHS (13 issues).....	\$3.25	\$9.00
6 MONTHS (26 issues).....	\$5.75	\$12.00
1 YEAR (52 issues).....	\$10.00	\$15.00
LIFE SUBSCRIPTION.....	\$100.00	

(Please Print)

NEW SUBSCRIPTION ☐ RENEWAL ☐

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_

STATE/ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

COUNTRY \_\_\_\_\_

please mail check or money order to:

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, CENTRAL DISTRIBUTION,

(Make checks payable to Central Distribution)

8501 East 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621

are regular army troops of South Africa or hired mercenaries, financed and trained by the U.S. and South Africa, the intervention remains.

Oswald Johnston writing in the *Los Angeles Times* reports that the U.S. in recent weeks has conducted an intense lobbying campaign among the 46 OAU member nations, trying to forestall their recognition of the MPLA. These African leaders have made clear to the U.S. that the presence of South African troops in Angola makes impossible recognition of the traitor-led movements of Holden Roberto and Jonas Savimbi beside whom the South African troops are fighting.

The U.S. wants the OAU to follow its lead, calling for a ceasefire and the formation of a unity government in Angola. However, the OAU will be hard

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22



# CARMEN PEREIRA ON THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE GUINEA-BISSAU REVOLUTION

The following is Part 1 of an interview with Carmen Pereira, a leading member of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC), conducted by the Liberation Support Movement (LSM) that appeared in the Fall, 1975, issue of LSM News, the quarterly journal of the LSM published in Richmond, British Columbia, Canada.

In the interview, Comrade Pereira discusses the role of the women of Guinea-Bissau in the country's armed struggle against Portugal (which ended in 1974) and PAIGC's current efforts to revolutionize the role of women in the West African nation.

## PART 1

LSM: Comrade Pereira, can you briefly tell us how and why you joined the PAIGC?



PEREIRA: I come from a family which was well-off by African standards and much respected in the city of Bissau. My father was one of the few African lawyers. But I saw what the Portuguese did in my country: wealth for a few, with extreme poverty for the great majority. I saw them putting my Guinean brothers and sisters in prison for the smallest protest, and I realized that this life was not a good one.

I first heard of PAIGC in 1961. Then, one day I discovered Party documents my husband was hiding; I told him he should have talked to me about the struggle. In 1962 the repression in the towns really escalated. My husband was in danger and decided to slip out of the country to join the Party abroad. I was on my own but soon began making my own plans to go and work for the Party. Later that year I managed to get out of Bissau with my two children and baby. On the way we passed by a concentration camp in Tite and saw prisoners being

treated very badly by the Portuguese. Some had been so badly tortured they were bloody and lying on the ground, unable to get up. This confirmed my decision to go and join the Party.

In Senegal I met Amilcar Cabral, who encouraged me. But I had myself and the children to support, so I went to Zinguinchor on the border of Guinea-Bissau where I worked as a seamstress. From my wages I was able to feed my children and 30 Party comrades at the same time. I was 25 years old and my political understanding was just starting to develop.

LSM: What responsibilities have you had since then?

PEREIRA: At the end of 1963 I was sent for political and nursing training in the Soviet Union. After 11 months abroad I

returned to carry on the function I had at the border. The armed struggle had been launched and soon the Party gave me another responsibility: finding safe places for treating our casualties, and then teaching nursing to a group of young women. Later, I was sent to the South Front as a health *responsavel* (cadre) and opened the first Party hospital in our country. At first it was difficult to convince the population to come to the hospital for treatment. Under the colonialists one had to pay to receive treatment, so the people were not accustomed to doctors and nurses. The Party organized health brigades to give medicines to the population and to teach them modern hygiene and the importance of seeing a doctor.



Left photo, citizens of the liberated territory of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. CARMEN PEREIRA (right), a leading PAIGC member, expresses a firm understanding of the role of women in the ongoing revolutionary struggle to develop their homeland.

## U.S. To Cut Off Aid To U.N. Opponents

(Washington, D.C.) - A vindictive policy of cutting back American aid to those nations who have opposed the U.S. in United Nations votes has been formally initiated by U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. *The New York Times* reports.

In some cases the cutbacks in U.S. aid will involve food and humanitarian relief, particularly to the small, developing nations of the Third World. State Department officials report that Kissinger has already postponed agreements on development aid to Tanzania and Guyana because of their votes in the U.N. General Assembly to condemn Zionism as a form of racism and to oppose the Ford administration's position on Korea.

Other countries threatened with a loss of U.S. aid are Cyprus, Benin, Burundi, Niger, Senegal, Chad and Malta. Niger, Senegal and Chad are in the Sahel region of Africa which is suffering mass starvation as the result of a seven-year drought. (See article, page 19.)

The State Department official who revealed Kissinger's policy to *The Times* described it as a "zap list" to punish small countries but do nothing about larger countries like Egypt who have also voted against the U.S. at the U.N.

The Senate and the House have taken opposite stands on Kissinger's reactionary policy. In a resolution, the House International Relations Committee endorsed a get-tough approach after the U.N.'s vote on Zionism. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, however, has issued a report specifically prohibiting the politicizing of economic aid.

## AFRICA IN FOCUS



### Zimbabwe

According to a report in the *Johannesburg Sunday Times* last week, 12,000 Black freedom fighters were reportedly poised to invade White-ruled Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) from Mozambique on January 3. The alleged purpose of the invasion was to upset the constitutional talks on Zimbabwe's future being held between Black reactionaries and the White minority government of "Prime Minister" Ian Smith. The *Times* said the attack would be made by militants of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO).

### Nigeria

The U.S. State Department last week angrily charged the government of Nigeria of making "unjustified accusations" against the U.S. on Angola. The criticism came following the action of the Nigerian government in making public the text of a private letter on the Angolan situation from President Ford to Brig. Murtala Muhammed, the Nigerian chief of state. In publishing the letter, the government-owned newspapers of Nigeria accused the U.S. of bullying tactics and of "insulting the intelligence of African nations" and "(scorning) the dignity of the Black man."

### Spanish Sahara

Moroccan and Mauritanian troops are committing genocide in the Spanish Sahara, the POLISARIO Front charged recently. POLISARIO is waging an armed struggle in this former Spanish colony against the occupation forces of Morocco and Mauritania. The two countries are implementing a policy of "systematic genocide of the Saharan peoples" in the face of military setbacks and mass resistance, the POLISARIO statement charged.



## Interview With Fatima Ahmed Of The Omani Women's Organization

In recent weeks the Iranian government has escalated its expansionist and counterrevolutionary military campaigns against the progressive movement in Oman led by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO).

The extent of the recent attacks by the Shah's forces has gone beyond the Omani frontiers and reaches the ports in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, a comrade-in-arms and longtime supporter of the Omani people's revolution.

To help illuminate the struggle in Oman, following *THE BLACK PANTHER* reprints excerpts of an interview conducted by the Liberation Support Movement (LSM) with Fatima Ahmed of the Omani Women's Organization.

LSM: The revolution in Oman not well known here in North America. So perhaps, comrade, we could begin by discussing the background and current stage of the struggle.

AHMED: It's true, we've been successfully waging armed struggle for 10 years but still our revolution is not well known the world over. On the 9th of June, 1965, our people launched armed revolution for the purpose of throwing off foreign domination and ending oppression in Oman.

A particular aim has been to remove foreign military bases from our country. Initially these bases were British; now they are shared by Britain and the United States. They serve the current campaign of terror aimed at liquidating the progress of our revolution among the people. This campaign takes several forms including concerted bombardment of civilian population centers and harassment, arrest, torture and often execution of our comrades in the cities.

In addition to the growing American involvement, Iranian, Jordanian and British troops are all fighting to prop up the regime of Sultan Qabus.

The ruling al Bu-Said family has long been a puppet of the imperialists, in particular the British. For over three decades until 1970, the ruler of Oman was Said bin Taimur, father of the current sultan. When popular discontent against him became open and widespread, Britain replaced Said by his son Qabus,

staging its "palace coup" of 23 July, 1970. Qabus attempted some minor reforms but they did not alter the fundamental oppression and foreign control of Oman. His bid for popular support failed miserably; the people did not respond to his attempts at face-lifting the regime. That reform operation lasted three years and was coupled with heavy bombardment of our liberated territories. You see, widespread repression of any popular movement has continued for 200 years.

After the failures of his early policies, in December, 1973, Qabus finally called on his ally, the Shah of Iran, for troops to defend his throne. The first Iranian incursion occurred in December, 1973, with about 3,000 Iranian troops.

Of course, the Shah is not simply a disinterested ally but



Omani woman involved in struggle against foreign imperialism.

### Ford To Block Release Of Angola Report

(New York, N.Y.) - Fearing further exposure of White House lies on Angola, President Ford will seek to block publication of a Congressional report on the escalation of U.S. involvement in the West African country, *CBS News* revealed last week.

*CBS News* correspondent Daniel Schorr said Ford will write to House Intelligence Committee Chairman Otis Pike, invoking the scapegoat Presidential privilege to veto issuance of the report by claiming that it contains information that would allegedly jeopardize national security.

According to Schorr, the Committee has approved the five-page draft of the report that challenges Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's claim that U.S. action in Angola resulted from Russia's involvement in the country. Schorr said the report suggests that the Russians may have felt challenged when the U.S. supplied \$300,000 in arms last spring to the pro-Western factions of the FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) and UNITA (Union for the Total Independence of Angola) which are opposing the legitimate government of the country, led by the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola).



The current drought in Sahel region of Africa is taking its toll on young children (above) while worldwide interest in the severe problems of the area has nearly evaporated.



## MILLIONS STILL STARVE IN AFRICA'S SAHEL REGION

The drought-stricken Sahel region of Africa continues to face mass starvation while the U.S. spends millions of dollars to crush the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola)-led government of the People's Republic of Angola.

The following Pacific News Service article, written by freelance journalist Bruce Watson, discusses the current needs of the people of the Sahel.

(San Francisco, Calif.) — As the U.S. pours military aid into Angola, millions of malnourished Africans 1,500 miles to the north await U.S. aid for their drought-ridden region.

International relief came quickly in 1973-74 when West Africa's Sahel desert was hit by mass starvation following a

seven-year drought. But since rains ended the emergency a year ago, interest in helping the Sahel has nearly evaporated. A long-term U.S.-sponsored development program for the Sahel has been mired so long in bureaucratic red tape that its chances for passing Congress may now be in jeopardy.

It took the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) a full year to develop an initial proposal for the Sahel rehabilitation project. ("One doesn't convert from drought relief to long-term development overnight," says AID official Irving Rosenthal.) Then it took three more months before Congress recently authorized \$5 million to AID to finalize its plans.

As the 1974 emergency passes further from the public mind, AID's planned multibillion dollar proposal may be lost among more politically pressing issues. The Sahel has no politically or militarily strategic value.

Even if Congress quickly approves the AID plan when presented this spring, aid wouldn't begin until 1977. The AID proposal — of which the U.S. would contribute \$140 million a year, or 20 per cent of the total, over a 10-year period — is intended to head off the worst effects of future droughts by doubling food production in the Sahel region. Several Western European governments, Canada, U.N. organizations and the World Bank have indicated they would help finance such a project.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



Young Sahel  
drought victims  
eating sparse  
rations. U.S. gov-  
ernment and other



## Millions Starve In The Sahel

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

AID officials estimate that U.S. investment now could save billions of dollars in emergency aid later when another drought hits the Sahel. Key targets of relief officials are improved transportation, grain storage areas, irrigation of waste land and replenishing of cattle herds.

The landlocked Sahel countries of Chad and Mali have no railroads and few paved highways. When grain shipments from relief agencies arrived during the emergency, they backed up for weeks. Up to 50,000 tons of grain waited at one

time in Dakar, Senegal, while thousands starved just a hundred miles inland.

With the help of AID, which in 1974 provided \$60 million to the six Sahel nations, road repair and maintenance has begun in Chad, Mali and Upper Volta. But still no funds have been allocated for railroad construction. Grain storage areas have been increased in the Sahel country of Niger to 35,000 tons — from 5,000 tons in 1972. But this is still only four per cent of Niger's annual grain consumption.

Irrigation projects include two new dams planned for the

Senegal River that will irrigate 825,000 acres in Senegal, Mauritania and Mali. Rice and tomatoes are being raised on 173 acres of newly irrigated land in Senegal, with the support of the National Council of Churches.

The drought killed 40 per cent of Sahel cattle, a crippling blow to the nomadic tribesmen who tended the herds. Ranches have

### THIRD DISASTER

The recent drought was the third such disaster in the Sahel this century. After the first two droughts, the inhabitants continued their primitive methods of livestock breeding and farming. West African farms still yield only one-fifth as much grain per acre as U.S. farms, lacking fertilizer, equipment and technology.

Before the recent disaster, the people of the Sahel seemed doomed to continue their cycle of starvation followed by devastating drought. Agricultural production has been unable to keep up with growing population. Only mass starvation has maintained any kind of balance. Now, the worldwide publicity given the recent famine has offered the Sahel people a chance to improve their plight through economic development. But if humanitarian aid lags until another drought hits, massive emergency relief will again be needed, thousands will starve before the rains return, and the cycle will be repeated. □

## WORLD SCOPE



### People's China

The government of the People's Republic of China indicated for the first time last week that it intends to send a man into space. An article in the Peking daily newspaper *Guangmin Ribao* headlined, "The Launching and the Bringing Back of Artificial Satellites from Earth," noted that China has already put five satellites into orbit since 1970 and that the fourth, launched on November 26, "returned to earth as scheduled (on December 2) after functioning normally." A West German space expert said that China's successful recovery of the fourth satellite indicated that the country's launching of its first satellite is not far off.

### Chile

A British surgeon who was a political prisoner of the fascist government of Chile for almost two months has revealed that she was brutally tortured during her incarceration. Dr. Sheila Cassidy, who was released last month, was arrested after she treated a wounded Chilean revolutionary. She said that while she was held by the Chilean security police, she was stripped and given "severe electric shocks for up to an hour at a time" and that she was held in solitary confinement for three weeks. Dr. Cassidy had been living in Chile as a permanent resident while working for a local health service.

### Honduras

The Honduran government recently nationalized docks and railroads in the country controlled by the U.S. Standard Fruit Company and the Tela Railroad Company, a subsidiary of the U.S. United Brands Company. *Hsinhua* news agency reports. This is the latest action by the Honduran government in its sweeping nationalization of its banana industry which began last August 15 when the country cancelled all contracts with and concessions to foreign banana companies. Following the cancellation, the Honduran Banana Corporation was set up to carry out the country's new banana policy.



## EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES CORPORATION

(A Non-Profit Corporation) 6118 East 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621 Phone (415) 562-5261

### OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL

EACH ONE TEACH ONE TUITION ASSOCIATION

WE ARE LAUNCHING A CAMPAIGN TO GAIN FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR THE STUDENTS AT THE OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL THROUGH THE EACH ONE TEACH ONE TUITION ASSOCIATION

WE ARE ASKING YOU TO DONATE A NOMINAL AMOUNT PER YEAR

ALL MONIES ARE GOING FOR THE DIRECT SUPPORT OF THE CHILDREN

ALL MONIES ARE TAX-DEDUCTIBLE



### EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES CORPORATION

(A Non-Profit Corporation)  
6118 East 14th Street,  
Oakland, California 94621  
Phone (415) 562-5261

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

STATE

ZIP

PHONE

### PLEDGE

MONTHLY

QUARTERLY

\$ \_\_\_\_\_

\$ \_\_\_\_\_

BI-ANNUALLY

YEARLY

\$ \_\_\_\_\_

\$ \_\_\_\_\_

Cash

Check

Signature



## BOOK REVIEW

# "THE IRON FIST AND THE VELVET GLOVE" : RADICAL ANALYSIS OF THE EMERGING POLICE STATE

And When...

And when I saw the bodies  
stacked upon the foreign  
ground,  
I bowed my head and dropped my  
gun and weeping was the  
sound.  
For this I'd get a medal? When  
not so long ago  
The bodies were all Indians and  
my soldier coat was blue.

Flashes of remembrances —  
Sand Creek and Wounded  
Knee,  
Washita, the Trail of Tears — and  
now these tears from me.

Forgive me" I cried painfully  
(dead ears can't hear my  
screams)  
"I didn't want to do it — you also  
have your dream."  
Old men, women, children — are  
these the enemy?

What am I doing in your land?  
You didn't send for me."  
I picked my gun from off the  
ground (the faithful mob  
hit-man)  
I only followed orders — I won't  
do that again.

Bob Bacon  
Chicago.

## Bitter Struggle

Your struggle is bitter  
Black like the earth  
Black like your bodies  
Broken upon the  
Black gun butt  
Aimed at your  
Sacred land  
Your wealth  
Black Hell  
Drowned in a  
Barrage of machine-gun fire  
In exploding rockets  
And mine fields  
To steal from  
The Black earth  
Black sisters and brothers  
Diving bombs  
Direct hits  
Upon your land  
Angola the new Vietnam  
A mercenaries' pawn  
Hammering upon Black bodies  
Gladly giving your lives  
So Angola may live  
When you are gone.

Rita Bishop Darwish  
Seattle, Wash.

The Iron Fist and the Velvet Glove is a unique, well-written and highly informative radical analysis of the emerging police state in America. Its opening dedication, "To the people of Vietnam... (and) To all those in the United States and Puerto Rico, who have been or are now the victims of repression; who fight for their lives in the prisons and jails; who have been murdered by the police; who have been spied upon, infiltrated, framed and tortured," makes clear that this book is firmly rooted in the growing movement by poor and oppressed communities to combat and defeat the fascist police menace.

The following review of The Iron Fist and the Velvet Glove

was written by Brother Wallace H. Sifford, Jr., a Ph.D. candidate in criminology at the University of California at Berkeley, who also serves as a sociology professor at Laney College in Oakland.

This work is a good representative of the thinking of the "radical criminology" on the subject of police. Although there is little that is novel, and some parts that are disappointingly vague, its analysis is insightful and challenging, representing a fundamental alternative to both traditional "conservative" and "liberal" thinking and theorizing on the matter.

The Iron Fist and the Velvet Glove begins by rejecting the doctrine of police neutrality. Its

argument is that the police establishment must be viewed as part of the social system in which it functions.

Furthermore, this system is not "neutral" any more than are its police. The United States is a social order in which wealth and power are distributed very much to the advantage of some people — and consequently very much to the disadvantage of others.

### CLASS INEQUALITY

The prime function of the police is to keep things this way. The legal order of a social system based upon class inequality enforces its class biases in two main ways:

(1) By its definitions of what constitutes crime and what does not; and

(2) By selective enforcement. That is to say that a capitalist legal code, for example, defines private possession of the means of production as legal, interference with such ownership as illegal.

## THE IRON FIST AND THE VELVET GLOVE an analysis of the U.S. police



## THE LAMP POST

2273 TELEGRAPH, OAKLAND, CALIF. 94612  
TELEPHONE: (415) 465-5220

### Come To The LampLighter Restaurant & Cocktail Lounge

THE LAMPLIGHTER RESTAURANT

Hours: 10 a.m. — 1 a.m.

Breakfast is served everyday.

THE COCKTAIL LOUNGE

Hours: 10 a.m. — 2 a.m.

### The LampPost Is Open Every Day

THE LAMP POST IS AVAILABLE FOR PARTIES, MEETINGS, LUNCHEONS AND DINNERS. For reservations, please call 465-5220.

### We Have The Lowest Prices In Town

"We serve food for the essence of the soul."



There is, however, nothing inevitable about such an arrangement — in a socialist society, obviously, it would be the reverse.

Secondly, in general, laws are enforced much more vigorously against the poor and powerless than they are against, say, corporation executives and Presidents, even though the latter may be engaging in acts that are "illegal" by the system's own standards.

The authors (the book is collective effort) point out that the last decade there has been remarkable increase in the American police establishment — not only in numbers, but in money and sophistication of equipment and technique as well.

They insist, however, that this is not due to the fact that in these

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24



## Mercenaries

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

pressed to take this position since to do so would require the MPLA to sit at the same table with the two men who invited in and welcomed the military support of the chief enemy of the African people on the continent, the Republic of South Africa.

Further, a ceasefire at this time could only work to the advantage of the traitor-organizations FNLA and UNITA, since latest reports indicate MPLA forces are carrying out a successful offensive and inflicting heavy losses and defeats on the combined forces of the FNLA, Zairean troops and White mercenaries in the north, and successfully holding the line against South African troops, mercenaries and UNITA forces in the south.

The withdrawal of South African regular troops from Angola is also intended to give force to the demand for the companion withdrawal of Cuban military personnel who are aiding the MPLA, and lay the basis for the demand for an end to Soviet aid to the MPLA. However, since the MPLA is the legitimate government of the People's Republic of Angol and since White mercenaries continue to fight on the side of the traitor groups in Angola, there is little likelihood that this subterfuge on the part of the Western powers will be successful.

### APPLAUD

Meanwhile, in New York, the Black Economic Development Conference (BEDC), a seven-year-old community based organization active in Black and Puerto Rican affairs, officially represented at the United Nations as a non-governmental body, has called on Black Americans to applaud Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro's firm support for Angolan liberation.

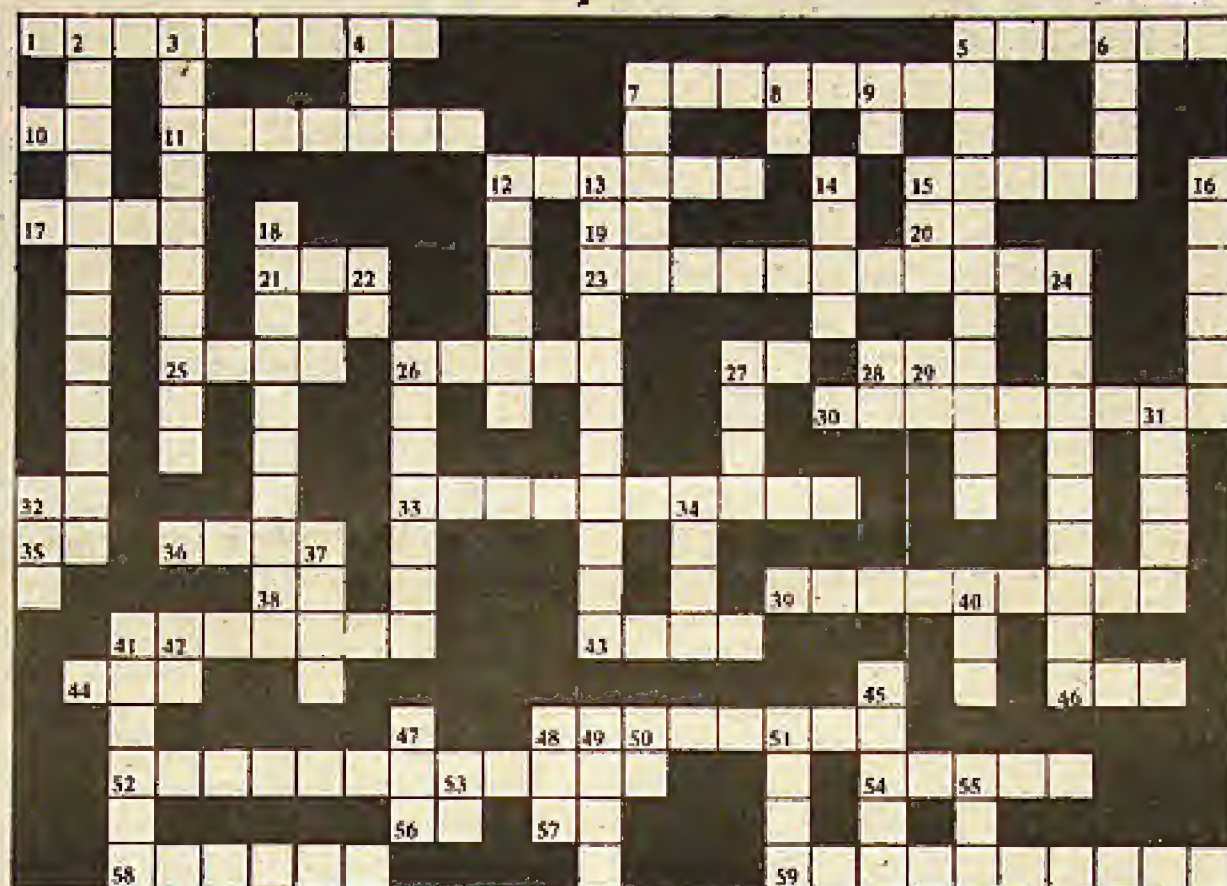
In a press statement issued last week, BEDC points out that "hundreds of Black Caucus (Cuban citizens of African descent) have answered the call for help from the People's Republic of Angola. These revolutionary Cuban youth and a number of Cuban armed forces officials have gone to Angola to fight shoulder-to-shoulder with their Angolan friends and kinspeople. History will record this Cuban sacrifice as a high point in Pan-Africanist unity and revolutionary solidarity. Dr. Castro has joined the ranks of such great internationalists and defenders of Africa as Marcus Garvey, Paul Robeson, Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah."

CONTINUED ON LAST COLUMN

## Crossword Puzzle

### ON ANGOLA

V.A. RILEY



### ACROSS

1. Something, such as Angola, regarded or closely resembling something else on a very small scale.
5. U.S. banks have given \_\_\_\_\_ to the enemies of MPLA.
7. Ambassador \_\_\_\_\_, representative of the OAU at the U.N.
10. Opposite of down.
11. Leader of UNITA.
12. Vietnam of Africa.
15. "Mercenaries For Angola" condemned by BPP.
17. Men \_\_\_\_\_ and dollars supplied by the "free world" have been unleashed in Angola.
19. Used to indicate position, location or state.
20. Indefinite article.
21. Initials for the Organization of African Unity.
23. South Africa is the policeman of \_\_\_\_\_ empires in Africa.
25. Agostinho \_\_\_\_\_ MPLA's president.
26. The \_\_\_\_\_ of the Angolan people show their determination to fight fascism and to liberate their country.
27. For instance.
28. Gulf feels that it has a right to interfere in Angola because of the holdings there.
30. BPP urges Black veterans to reject loath \_\_\_\_\_ (treacherous) attempt to use "them" against the legitimate government led by the MPLA.
32. Same as 19 across.
33. One of the great dreams of modern history is the \_\_\_\_\_ struggle of the Angolan people.
35. To be.
36. Initials for Liberation Front of the Cabinda Enclave, a tribalist organization.
38. This.
39. A professional soldier who hires out to foreign country out of a desire for monetary profit.
41. Holden \_\_\_\_\_ leader of the pro-Western, longtime CIA — supported FNLA.
43. Initials for the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola.
44. Angola is now in the midst of a civil \_\_\_\_\_.
46. Initials for Portuguese Liberation Army which is for the restoration of fascism in Portugal (Spínolis) and is also operating in Angola.
48. \_\_\_\_\_ who defected from the MPLA and is now military commander with the FNLA.
52. OAU has taken the "firm position rejecting and condemning all foreign \_\_\_\_\_ in Angola."
56. Negative reply.
57. Exist.
58. President of Zaire who has helped pass U.S. money and military equipment to the FNLA and other forces fighting the MPLA.
59. To \_\_\_\_\_ Angola (MPLA) combined not only the desire for a different world but the determination to make it real under conditions that seemed to be impossible.

### DOWN

2. Mobutu has chosen to play the role of "sub-\_\_\_\_\_ agent" in Africa. (plural)
3. MPLA felt that it was necessary to guide the \_\_\_\_\_ to colonialism so that with the increasing support of the people it would be possible to construct a new society.
4. Total.
5. A governmental policy of acquiring or maintaining foreign territory as colonies.
6. Third person singular of do.
7. Within the three articles on Angola there are several \_\_\_\_\_ about the situation in Angola.
8. In the direction towards.
9. Same as 57 across.
12. The continent that Angola is part of.
13. According to Basil Davidson, "Mobutu and Holden turned to \_\_\_\_\_."
14. Initials for the National Front for the Liberation of Angola.
15. Is able to.
16. Initials for the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (plural).
18. On April 25, 1974, \_\_\_\_\_ fascism was overthrown.
24. Mobutu, United States and South Africa do not want to see the government of Angola survive.
26. Initials of the Mozambique Liberation Front.
27. Prefix meaning opposed.
28. Preposition meaning position upon.
29. Same as 35 across.
31. "The nationalist pioneers saw that the only route to independence was \_\_\_\_\_."
32. Armed reinforcements to the FNLA are coordinated by two \_\_\_\_\_ bridges between Zaire and Windhoek.
34. The FNLA is becoming a \_\_\_\_\_ of the U.S. — C.I.A.
37. Abbreviation for corporation.
40. We live in an \_\_\_\_\_ of neocolonialism.
41. \_\_\_\_\_ is the policy of South Africa and one of its reasons for being involved in Angola.
42. Either.
45. Initials for the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands.
47. Roy Innis of CORE would like to send Black \_\_\_\_\_ to fight in Angola.
48. Initials for U.S. super-spy agency that is involved in Angola.
49. MPLA is fighting for their lives and \_\_\_\_\_ land.
50. Opposite of out.
51. The U.S., South Africa and Zaire are not interested in the \_\_\_\_\_ of the Angolans.
53. Same as 56 across.
55. Nothing.

The answers to most of the crossword puzzle can be found in the following articles in the Dec. 20, 1975, issue of THE BLACK PANTHER:  
 "C.O.R.E.'s 'Mercenaries For Angola' Condemned"  
 "Angola and the M.P.L.A. — Vision of a New and Different World"  
 "Angola Is Already Africa's Vietnam"

ANSWERS ON PAGE 25

CONTINUED FROM FIRST COLUMN

Asserting that Black Americans "owe a debt of sincere congratulations to the Cuban people for their unprecedented heroism," BEDC urges Black Americans to call upon elected officials, especially the Congressional Black Caucus, to "lead the fight against appropriation of American taxpayers' money for any and all covert or overt CIA and U.S. military involvement in Angola; to pass and publicize a Black Caucus resolution recognizing the People's Republic of Angola led by MPLA; to repudiate the Ford-Kissinger alliance with the "racist Vorster regime of the Union of South Africa"; and demand that the U.S. State Department "refrain from any and all punitive measures against the Cuban government and people" in response to Cuban support of independence of Angola, Puerto Rico and other areas of anticolonial struggle." □

## Proper Black Posture In Angola

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10

capable of making an accurate, nonracist, assessment of life in contemporary America and of the nation's posture in the world arena.

On the Angola question, he is most assuredly operating contrary to his role when he speaks of recruiting Black American veterans for any part in the armed conflict.

Rather, it seems to me, that his proper function is to view the conflict from the point of view of what is in the best interests of all of the people of Angola regardless of their ideological predispositions.

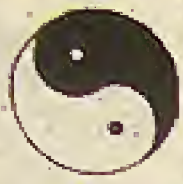
He must address himself to the ultimate consequences of American actions as they relate to the interests of the people of Africa and particularly to the interests of the Blacks in South Africa and Rhodesia.

Certainly, the first step should be a cessation of the fighting involving a withdrawal of all foreign troops and foreign supply of military equipment. The dispute should be resolved within the context of the U.N. Security Council if the parties are unable to resolve it among themselves. These are the positions that Blacks ought to be taking at every opportunity and through every medium available for the dissemination of views.

In the era of Daniel Moynihan and our beloved Pearl Bailey, perhaps one asks too much. □



# MARTIAL ARTS



## Natural Defenses

Many movements that have been the building blocks of martial arts styles and systems have been taken from the natural defenses of animals. One interesting style is the monkey style, based on five sets or variations to attack. They are called Tall Monkey, Rock Monkey, Wood Monkey, and Drunk Monkey.

The style is also based on five fighting strategies. Monkey stylists must learn how to be destructive, elusive, shifty, unpredictable, and subtle. Because of the diverse strategies, a student of Monkey boxing was often taught only one set. The instructor would study the student's body structure, matching him to the most appropriate form.

A short student, for instance, would normally specialize in a set of techniques different from one who was tall. The Tall Monkey set teaches one the value of long-distance combat. It was developed by studying the fighting habits of monkeys with long limbs. The method is ideal for tall fighters who can capitalize on a long reach. The continuous, circular, swinging patterns of the Tall Monkey set are very similar to other long-range systems of Chinese Boxing.

The Rock Monkey set relies on techniques of power. Its effectiveness depends on the focusing of strength, much like that of karate. The Wood Monkey can be described by a single word: surprise! More often than not, enemies of monkeys were often larger and more vicious. Monkeys often won battles because of an uncanny ability to deceive their attackers. For instance, one could set up the opponent by falling down and pretending to be afraid. As the enemy rushed in, a monkey stylist could unleash a surprise attack.

The Drunk Monkey set teaches one how to fight while staggering, stumbling, and falling all over the place. Although the monkey stylist may seem to have lost total control of his balance, he is really in perfect command of his body at all times. Furthermore, the swaying movements are invaluable in dodging and evading attack.

## BASEBALL OWNERS FAIL TO OVERTURN "RESERVE CLAUSE" RULING

(Kansas City, Mo.) — An attempt by professional baseball owners to squash a recent arbitration decision which has asserted players' rights to negotiate their services with any team they choose has failed so far. A federal court judge here has suggested that professional baseball will have to negotiate with players instead of dragging the issue out in court.

Recently, Andy Mersersmith of the Los Angeles Dodgers and Dave McNally of the Montreal Expos played out their contracts and refused to sign with their clubs, going into the arbitration process between owners and players. They demanded an end to any further playing obligations to their teams, defying major league baseball's "reserve clause."

Arbitrator Peter Seitz cast the swing vote, declaring players free agents, a ruling which meant that no longer could baseball's owners hold their players in perpetual slavery.

Seitz was immediately fired as all of baseball's 24 owners pleaded with federal Judge John W. Oliver to set aside the arbitration ruling. Judge Oliver, however, replied that he was amazed that the contract agree-

### "OSCAR ROBINSON" LAWSUIT

## N.B.A. Players To Sue Owners Over Rights Issues

(New York, N.Y.) — The National Basketball Association (NBA) Players' Association is refusing to settle an upcoming case out of court — the "Oscar Robertson" lawsuit — which demands that owners recognize players' rights.

The antitrust suit was instituted in 1970 by then president of the Players' Association, the NBA's great Black star, Oscar



Because of recent ruling against baseball's reserve clause stars like ROD CAREW and HANK AARON can freely bargain with any club for their services.



ment between owners and the Major League Baseball Players Association permitted either side "to fire the umpire in the middle of the game."

Standard baseball contracts state that if players decide not to sign with their clubs, then a club shall have the right by written notice to renew their contract for the period of one year on the same terms.

Termed the "reserve clause," baseball owners have maintained

that this provision gives them perpetual rights to a player's services. Without the reserve clause, the players could demand compensation for their talents and services in an open market.

In suggesting that the exploitation of baseball players be settled out of court, Judge Oliver pointed out that owners could vindictively "lockout" rebelling players by refusing to deal with them, bringing on additional lawsuits. □

Robertson, and is scheduled to come up for trial this June.

### RIGHTS ABUSES

The rights abuses charged in the suit are the NBA college draft of players' selection, the option clause for playing out contracts, and the compensation clause for players that jump teams, violate federal antitrust laws and restrict players' freedom to receive the full market value of their talents.



JOHN HAVLICEK and WALT "Clyde" FRAZIER (10) lunge for a free ball. The NBA Players' Association is deadlocked with professional basketball owners over the issue of players' rights.

The main point of contention is the compensation clause, the NBA's equivalent of professional football's "Rozelle Rule" and baseball's "reserve clause," in which one team must compensate another when a player's contract ends and he decides to join another professional team. Recently, a federal judge in Minneapolis ruled that the "Rozelle Rule" is illegal. (See last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.)

### PRESSURE

NBA owners are attempting to pressure the Players' Association into not going through with the suit. But Larry Fleisher, general counsel of the Players' Association, insisted, "They (the owners) don't ever want anyone to be free and they want to own a player. That's the primary hangup. Without settling that, it's inconceivable to go forward."

Meanwhile, according to The Times, preparations are beginning to be made for the upcoming court battle. □



## "The Iron Fist And The Velvet Glove"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 21

years the American people have spontaneously become more "criminal," but that it represents the response of those who control the social system of the United States to a profound crisis of that system.

It might have been helpful if the book devoted more attention to the precise nature of that crisis. It appears that the authors take for granted the main outlines of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of capitalism.

It is a system containing insoluble internal "contradictions" — contradictions that may be avoided or concealed for a time, but which in the long run will manifest themselves in the form of severe economic, political and social dysfunctions. The awakening of the Black and other ethnic communities, youth un-

tions of the "liberal" approach — the most basic of which is the acceptance of the propriety and inevitability of a repressive police apparatus and the system which it is designed to protect.

The police perform their function in a number of ways — some more directly and obviously repressive than others. Organized on the basis of a "military-corporate model" (p.32), in recent years their technology, weaponry and mode of organization (SWAT forces, etc.) have become increasingly oriented toward the handling of social unrest through violence.

However, besides the "iron fist" there is also the "velvet glove." The authors see this epitomized in what they call the "pacification model" (p.54). The rhetoric of this model is that of "community involvement."



*Police savagely brutalize unarmed Black man — an occurrence which is all-too-common in our community.*

rest, Vietnam, Watergate, unemployment, inflation, etc., are mentioned as various reflections of the underlying crisis of the American capitalist system.

The alternatives faced by a society in such a crisis are: (a) to fundamentally alter its structure; or (b) to strengthen its repressive apparatus in the hope of dealing by force with those demanding the first alternative — which is exactly what the authors perceive in the growth of the police power in this country.

They also make no secret of the fact that they are radical partisans of the first alternative — which they see as the only long-range hope of dealing with the "problem" of "crime" at all.

This interpretation is set against an historical background (pp. 16-30). Basically, the argument is that regular police forces came into existence in the early 19th century coincidentally with the development of industrial capitalism and the consequent sharpening of social contradictions.

The proposed police reforms of the Progressive Era are taken up as representative of the limita-

However, the book argues, the model does not involve any real functions of the police being transferred to the communities themselves — and it does not at all involve any real "community control" of the police.

The recent drive to recruit women police officers and the concept of "team policing" are likewise rejected as being only means to conceal — not solve — the basic problems of sexism, racism and social conservatism in the police establishment. Only radical social change is conceived as an effective means of doing that.

Furthermore, the reactionary functions of the American police structure are by no means confined to the United States itself. Considerable attention is given to how the U.S. "aids" its allies and client-states by training and equipping their police forces.

Although the "Office of Public Safety" through which most of this activity was channeled has been "phased out," the book contends that this represents no fundamental change in American policy — the same sorts of activities are merely being transferred to the domain of other agencies.

All of this is seen as posing the clear and present danger of the development of a full-scale "police state" in America. (This is slightly confusing since they authors insist that the U.S. is not "really" democratic now anyway — but the dangers and ominous trends to which they point are real enough.)

## "We Knew They Wouldn't Hesitate To Kill Us All"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

sections were used for exercise purposes and three people could be let out at the same time (one in each section). Since we weren't allowed to go outside to use the A.C.'s yard, we received no sunshine.

"Although we had hot water in our cells in A.C., we stayed in our cells more (comparison to 'B'-Section. We were given two rolls of toilet paper a month.

### PUZZLED

"What really puzzled me is that I, supposedly, was being rehabilitated, but where were the rehabilitation machinery? Why was it so difficult to get a school teacher to come over the A.C.'s first floor, south side?

Why were we fed only two light, insufficient meals a day and kept in our cells twenty-four hours a day — most days? Why couldn't we order books and newspapers from the streets. Why were we gassed, assaulted and harassed merely for trying to obtain the rights that other prisoners have?

"Why were we denied medical treatment? (I have been trying to get a dental plate since last June and was even taken to the dentist in August, but still no plate).

"Whatever the reasons may be, I sincerely believe that they are punitive and debilitating instead of rehabilitating as the prison officials like to claim.

"You know, we had to tear toilets off the walls on November 14th just to get John, one of the Soledad Brothers, adequate medical attention after the fascist guards had beat up on him and busted his head open in front of his wife, and threw him in a strip-cell without any medical treatment and with blood flowing from his wounds.

"After a federal injunction was issued against Warden Nelson and other prison officials who run the Adjustment Center, they would still harass us — so much so that we feared even more for our lives and began to take shifts, i.e., staying awake at night for three hours shifts, watching and



*Fascist police brutalize young brother.*

In the opinion of this reviewer, the most disappointing part of *The Iron Fist and the Velvet Glove* is that dealing with program. Aside from a general advocacy of a nationally-organized radical political movement and endorsement of the slogan of "community control" (although the limitations of that slogan are also admitted), the conclusions of the book seem to lack concreteness.

### CRITICISM

This criticism, however, must be qualified by a recognition of the extreme difficulty and complexity of the problem. In any case, *The Iron Fist and the Velvet Glove* represents a necessary and provocative alternative to the conventional view of the American police and their function.

(*The Iron Fist and the Velvet Glove: An Analysis of U.S. Police*, written by the Center for Research and Criminal Justice, is available at the Center, 2490 Channing Way, Room 507, Berkeley, Calif. 94704.) □

listening for the pigs in case they tried to creep in on an asleep prisoner.

"The reason for this is that the pigs had tried to creep in and murder a prisoner, Mulky, on November 25, 1970, and he was alert and cried out attracting our attention (we had been talking and didn't hear his door open), and the pigs split.

"Not too long before that, prisoners Divans and Gauden had been teargassed and assaulted. We really felt the pigs were going to (if he had been asleep) put him to death (they had ammonia with them), and then hang him (he had a 'psyche' — mental-jacket) and play it off as a suicide. Everyone had a shift.

"As I write this I am still the victim of insidious and overt racism — a warehoused slave.

I swear under the penalty of perjury that the foregoing statements are true and correct.

"Dated 23rd day of February, 1971.

"Signed, WILLIE TATE." □



## City-Wide Tenants Conference

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

Chicago housing plan, a plan to eliminate low-income housing from the city," a Conference organizer sarcastically but frankly remarked.

Two programs allegedly designed to help solve the low-income housing crisis are generally regarded as disgraceful and a mere "drop in the bucket."

Under the "Section 8" program (named for Section 8 of the 1975 Housing and Community Development Act), families who qualify can become approved for a cash grant to cover 75 percent of their rent. Yet of the 905,000 Chicago residents who qualify for this rent subsidy, there is only money allocated for 571 families.

Under the "Scattered Site Housing" program, three and six-unit complexes of public housing are to be built in middle-class neighborhoods. However, regulation for the "scattered site housing" excludes families of over four people. The city of Chicago has also been hesitant to construct even these few thousand units due to the resistance in White middle class communities to the prospect of having Black and Latino neighbors. □

## Letters to the Editor

### PLIGHT OF CARL LIPSCOMB GROWS WORSE

Dear Brother Du Bois,

Thank you very much for printing my letter on the plight of Brother Carl Lipscomb. It is reaching a lot of people (surprisingly).

Let me update you on the situation. I was able to visit Carl and he appeared very disoriented. The corrections "officer" at the information desk at Stateville said he was in segregation in cellhouse-B and when I visited him he was wearing the handcuff belt used on segregation prisoners at Stateville. He said he was not in segregation, but being held in the detention hospital because he was "unstable." Clearly he wasn't himself and I asked if he had been given any drugs. He said, he was given some sort of injection when he was placed in the hospital, but after that no. Then he said they may be giving it to him in his food.

I recently received a letter from his brother, Wilbert Lipscomb, also a prisoner at Stateville and he said the psychiatrist says Carl is "insane" and should go to the prison hospital at Menard, Illinois. Carl, however, is refusing to sign transfer papers for fear of being subjected to more drugs, electroshock treatments, and "behavior modification." After making inquiries as to his brother's welfare, Wilbert was told by a counselor he would get the same treatment unless he dropped the subject. Wilbert has asked me to see if you will print and his brother's address — as well as mine for the benefit of concerned brothers and sisters. They are Wilbert Lipscomb 71315, Box 112, Joliet, Ill., 60434 and Carl Lipscomb 71327, followed by the same address. Thank you.

Yours In Struggle,  
Charles Hale,  
15347 South Loomis  
Harvey, Illinois, 60426

### SEEKS INFO. ON FREE COMMISSARY FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM

Comrades,

Thank you for publishing my letter in your 7/14 edition. As I was reading our paper I noticed in your survival program section a few lines about the Free Commissary For Prisoners Program and decided to write in order to get some insight on the eligibility requirements. Also I would like to state that we no longer are able to obtain THE BLACK PANTHER because the brother who had been getting them has been transferred to a different jail. In essence I would like to obtain his subscription. My name is Vinson Washington and I'm living in Barracks 4 B. Any information is appreciated.

V.E. Washington  
Pleasanton, California.

### "SWEET DEMOCRACY"

Dear Sir,

It has been a very long time indeed since I've tried my hand at writing any kind of poetry, but about a week ago, hearing the morning radio and the ominous news about Angola — and the possibility of unjustified meddling there —, I thought up the following when I should have been polishing the #1 Elevator and wrote it down on a scrap of paper:

#### CHRISTMAS IN ANGOLA (1976?)

"Christmas in Angola, Lola,  
"That's the place for me.  
"Dropping napalm on the natives,  
"For 'Democracy  
"We'll dine with things,  
"And be eaten by bugs,  
"And die 'neath a jungle tree.  
"Christmas in Angola, Lola,  
"For 'Sweet Democracy'!"

Well, anyway, that's the thought that quickly flashed over this White working man's mind about a repeat of Vietnam in Angola — in which little people would again have lives ended or ruined in thousands to no honest purpose whatever until, again, the People forced a halt to this next series of crimes.

And now, just at random, I'd like to get down my thoughts on Angola:

(1) Two imperialist world powers have evil eyes on Angola — Russia and America;

(2) Now in stating that both Russia and America should both keep out of Angola, I may be repeating the words of Mr. Kissinger — but only to a beginning point;

(3) There is the matter of sincerity among both of the big powers interested. If the U.S. government is truly and sincerely interested only in getting the Russians out of Angola, there is no need for us to send anything into Angola ourselves. Some bargaining over grain sales to Russia might pinch the profits of some American millionaires but that the American people would well afford in a truly righteous and honest cause. Meanwhile, if we showed sincerely that our government was keeping completely out of Angola itself, that would be a concession to Russian big power prestige that would make bargaining with them on this matter much easier. Also, it would kill the desire of any of the Angola people to see any Russian domination of their country;

(4) With South African troops in Angola fighting against them, it is very easy to see why the MPLA government welcomes Cuban troops. And I must say that I can easily understand why Black Africans of good sense would much prefer to deal with Cuban than racist White South Africans;

(5) Angola is for Angolans and nobody else. And, if they need help, it should come through the United Nations, with Third World and especially Black African nations directly helping out at the scene.

Sincerely,  
Paul Dubois  
Seattle, Wash.

## T.C. Benton Letter

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

of crime to justify the preparation against mass political protest, in other words, their preparations for mass physical repression. The blurring together of crime and political opposition is a trick by means of which the establishment has confused the people, and this has enabled them to have a 'pacification' program for the war at home, as they did during the Vietnam era.

"This 'trick,' this psychological warfare, is becoming more sophisticated by the day. You see, the powers that be know that an enlightened people, a politically mature people, can't be sold a bill of goods that is diametrically opposed to their survival. So, the 'establishment media' is used to veil their fiendish genocidal activities.

### ILLUSION

"The idea is to create the illusion that more police, mandatory sentences, the death penalty, are the answers to crime. That kind of logic is criminal in itself because the ruling class are the real criminals and they created the conditions which drive the people to commit crimes against the totalitarian state.

"Recently, in Dallas, a district attorney's convention was held, at the expense of the people. The meeting dealt with how to choose jurors. Black people were immediately denounced, as well as other people of color, women and people who smile at the defense.

"This is a direct violation of the people's Constitutional right to be tried by a jury of peers. The court system carries the stigma of a Judge Roy Bean-type mentality. The Constitutional rights of the people are a myth. As long as the people continue to accept the legitimacy of capitalism and the ruling class, our human rights will be violated." □

## Crossword Puzzle Answers

### ACROSS

1. Microcosm 5. Credit 7. Quattaro  
10. Up 11. Savimbi 12. Angola  
15. C.O.R.E.'s 17. Arms 19. At 20. An  
21. O.A.U. 23. Neocolonial 25. Neto  
26. Faces 27. As 28. Oil 30. Insidious  
32. At 33. Liberation 35. Is 36. FLEC  
38. So 39. Mercenary 41. Roberto  
43. MPLA 44. War 46. ELP 48. Chipenda  
52. Intervention 54. Inis 56. No 57. Am  
58. Mobutu 59. Decolonize

### DOWN

2. Imperialists 3. Resistance 4. Sum  
5. Colonialism 6. Does 7. Quote 8. To  
9. Am 12. Africa 13. Gansterism 14. FNLA  
15. Can 16. UNITAS 18. Portuguese  
22. U.S. 24. Legitimate 26. FRELIMO  
27. Anti 28. On 29. Is 31. Unity 32. Air  
34. Tool 37. Corp. 40. Era 41. Racism  
42. Or 45. PAIGC 47. Men 48. CIA  
49. Home 50. In 51. Need 53. No 55. Nil



## "Until We're Free"

A powerful, yet tender and important new album by Elaine Brown. The songs on the album weave a beautiful tapestry of protest against the quality of life for Black Americans. Listeners will find themselves engulfed in a flow of emotion as Elaine's melodic voice works its magic. Once you have heard "Until We're Free", you will understand why Huey P. Newton says: "A consuming talent, a total dedication and a proven commitment are combined in Elaine Brown, making her the first genuine People's Artist America has produced."

To purchase this album, send \$4.00 cash or money order to: Central Distribution, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621. Also available at major record stores near you.

SONGS WRITTEN AND PERFORMED  
BY ELAINE BROWN  
ATLANTIC RECORDS AND DISTRIBUTED  
BY NEDOWN RECORD CORP.





**CHOU EN-LAI** greets **HUEY P. NEWTON**, leader and chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party, during his 1971 visit to People's China.

## On The Death Of Chou En-lai

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

fighter of the Chinese people, finally departed from us. His death is a gigantic loss to our party, our army and the people of our country, to the cause of China's socialist revolution and construction, to the international cause of opposing imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, as well as to the cause of the international communist movement.

Loyal to the party and the people, Comrade Chou En-lai fought heroically and with utter devotion for the implementation of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and for the victory of the cause of the Chinese people's liberation and the cause of communism, to which he selflessly dedicated all his energies throughout his life.

### INDELIBLE CONTRIBUTIONS

Under the leadership of Chairman Mao, Comrade Chou En-lai made indelible contributions and performed immortal services to building and developing the Marxist Communist Party of China; to building and developing our invincible people's army; to the victory of the new democratic revolution and the founding of a new socialist China; to consolidating the great unity of the people of all nationalities led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants, and developing the revolutionary united front; to the struggle for the victory of the cause of Socialist revolution and construction; the victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat of our country; to strengthening the unity of the international revolutionary forces and to struggle against imperialism, social imperialism and modern revisionism; and thus won the whole-hearted

love, respect and admiration of the whole party, the whole army and the people of the whole country.

The life of Comrade Chou En-lai was one of glorious fighting for the cause of communism; it was a life of persevering in continuing the revolution.

The news of Comrade Chou En-lai's death will arouse deep grief in the hearts of our people. We must turn our grief into strength. The whole party, the whole army and the people of the whole country should learn from Comrade Chou En-lai's proletarian revolutionary spirit and his noble revolutionary qualities and, under the leadership of the party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, unite as one; take class struggle as the key link; adhere to the party's basic line; persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; uphold proletarian internationalism; consolidate and develop the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution; and strive to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, combat and prevent revisionism, build China into a powerful modern socialist country and win victory for the cause of Communism.

Eternal glory to Comrade Chou En-lai, great proletarian revolutionary of the Chinese people and outstanding communist fighter! □

## Carmen Pereira:

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

for the political mobilization of all people — men and women — in that region. I put my children in Party schools and committed myself completely to the political work.

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

In 1969 I was appointed member of the Executive Committee of the Struggle. That same year I was given responsibility for the national reconstruction of the South Front. It was hard work. One had to oversee the operation

## Omani Women's Organization

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

has his own motivations. First his expansionism, seeking to control the entire Gulf area. Recently the Front captured Iranian documents revealing their designs to occupy wide areas of the whole peninsula. Secondly, the Shah fears any progressive regime neighboring Iran and will attempt to stop it as far away as possible. He has publicly declared that Iranian troops were sent to suppress the revolutionary forces and stop the forming of a progressive regime in Oman, one similar to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY). Both of these factors are linked to imperialist oil strategy in the area, for Oman is strategically placed near oil routes and the Indian Ocean.

### REACTIONARY CAMPAIGN

LSM: Clearly a large part of the reactionary campaign is aimed at breaking the people's determination by use of terror. Could you give examples of such actions?

AHMED: Let's take the example of our compatriots in prison. Torture of all kinds is carried out under the direction of British intelligence. Burning parts of the body with cigarettes or nails, which are also pressed into the body; removing finger nails; forced sexual abuses. . . all sorts of brutal tortures carried out in



Omani women guerrillas, armed to liberate their small Persian Gulf nation (right).

the prisons at Kweite and Beit Palaj.

The terror campaign against the rural population is also directed by the British — they actually plan tactics, firepower, objectives and then leave it for the Iranians and Jordanians to execute these plans. First of all, they conduct daily bombardment; often they hit an area several times in one day. Secondly, they poison wells and other water sources used by the people for their own drinking as well as for their cattle and sheep.

LSM: How do you explain the phenomenon common to all national liberation struggles, i.e., people's standing up to the material superiority of the imperialist forces and defeating those forces?

AHMED: The fundamental elements are organizing and mobilizing the people, preparing them for long, hard struggle. For example, we have the People's Militia which helps protect the people as well as politicize them, ensuring their own participation in defending the revolution. That participation generates confidence among the people that they can win, that they can defeat imperialism; it gives them courage to stand up and carry out their struggle till victory.

### TO BE CONTINUED



## Women's Role In Guinea-Bissau

of all sanitary posts and other facilities. In 1973 we had our first session of the National Assembly. The enemy tried desperately to prevent it: they sent planes to drop bombs and massacre the population, hoping to stop the deputies from meeting. Despite this we had our Assembly; it was a great accomplishment. I was elected as deputy for Bissau, Vice-President for the National Assembly and member of the State Council. After this Assembly — at which we made our formal declaration of independ-

ence — I returned to the South Front. I told the population how we'd managed to hold the Assembly and what decisions were taken. I explained everything to them because they were the ones who fought to make the National Assembly possible.

After the fall of colonialism, I came here to Bissau. I am now working for the Secretariat-General as a member of the Party's Executive Committee of Struggle and the Commission of Organization at the national level.

### TO BE CONTINUED



## 14 x 20 Color Posters

\$3.00 PER PACKAGE \$1.00 EACH

COLOR POSTER PACKAGE  
SERIES #1OUTSIDE CALIFORNIA:  
\$3.50 per package  
\$1.25 eachOUTSIDE UNITED STATES:  
\$4.50 per package  
\$1.75 eachPeoples' Art  
DRAWINGS BY EMORY

ORDER BLANK

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_ CITY \_\_\_\_\_

STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_ COUNTRY \_\_\_\_\_

I have enclosed \$ \_\_\_\_\_ for: \_\_\_\_\_ package(s) \_\_\_\_\_ individual poster(s)

Check Box For Individual Poster (5) Wanted:

☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5

Make checks or money orders payable for:

CENTRAL DISTRIBUTION

8501 East 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621 — U.S.A.

ON  
SALE NOW

FALL 1974 ISSUE

THE COEVOLUTION QUARTERLY

Guest Edited by the  
Black Panther Party96 PAGES OF INFORMATION  
AND PICTURES INCLUDING:

- Over 20 Survival Programs of the Black Panther Party
- The songs of Elaine Brown and the poetry of Ericka Huggins
- People's art work by Emory Douglas
- Book excerpts by Huey P. Newton, George Jackson, David Du Bois
- And more...

Supplement to the Whole Earth Catalog  
The **COEVOLUTION**  
QuarterlyGUEST EDITED BY  
The Black Panther Party

Please Print

NAME \_\_\_\_\_ #COPIES ORDERED \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_ CITY \_\_\_\_\_

STATE/ZIP \_\_\_\_\_ COUNTRY \_\_\_\_\_

PLEASE MAIL CHECK/MONEY ORDER TO  
CENTRAL DISTRIBUTION  
8501 East 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621  
For further information call (415) 834-0195\$2  
1974  
FallMATERIALS AVAILABLE FROM CENTRAL DISTRIBUTION  
8501 E. 14TH STREET, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94621

## Current Price Listings

## ALBUM

UNTIL WE'RE FREE Elaine Brown \$4.00

## BOOKS

INSIGHTS AND POEMS Huey P. Newton and Ericka Huggins \$2.00

IN SEARCH OF COMMON GROUND Huey P. Newton \$1.25

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE Huey P. Newton \$1.95

TO DIE FOR THE PEOPLE Huey P. Newton \$1.95

BLOOD IN MY EYE George Jackson \$1.95 (paperback)  
\$5.95 (hardback)

SOLEDAD BROTHER George Jackson \$1.95

WHITE JUSTICE Panther Trial Transcripts \$2.75

AGONY IN NEW HAVEN Don Freed \$8.00

EXECUTIVE ACTION Don Freed and Mark Lane \$1.25

CHAIRMAN MAO'S 4 MINUTE EXERCISE Chairman Mao \$1.25

GLASS HOUSE TAPES Louis Tackwood and Citizens Research Committee \$1.75

SEIZE THE TIME Bobby Seale \$1.95

CO-EVOLUTION QUARTERLY, FALL 1974 Survival Programs \$2.00

... AND BID HIM SING David G. Du Bois \$8.95

## CARDS

All Purpose Stationery/Greeting Cards Emory Douglas \$1.50 per set  
(10 color drawings of People's Art)

## POSTERS

Huey P. Newton \$1.50

(classic photo of Huey in wicker chair)

Justice for Huey P. Newton \$1.00

Personality Poster Package Series #1 \$3.50 per pk.

(Photographs of contemporary Black leaders — Martin Luther King, Jr., George Jackson, Malcolm X, Bobby Seale, Huey P. Newton) \$1.25 ea.

Color Poster Package Series #1 Emory Douglas \$3.50 per pk.  
(5 color posters, 14 x 20, of People's Art) \$1.25 ea.

(On all above materials include an additional 35 cents for postage and handling for each item purchased.)

THE BLACK PANTHER  
Can Be Bought At:

## WEST OAKLAND

JIMMIES LAMP POST  
2273 TELEGRAPH AVE.WOODY'S LIQUOR  
1812 7TH STREETCHESTER'S MARKET  
1671 8TH STREETVINCE'S LIQUOR  
1671 PERALTA STREETSAV-MORE  
1333 PERALTA STREETL & D LIQUOR  
1698 7TH STREETGOLDEN WEST MARKET  
1104 18TH STREETBELLS SOUL CITY (RECORDS)  
931 WEST GRAND AVE.CLOWN LIQUOR  
4301 MARKET STREETGATEWAY LIQUOR  
5944 SAN PABLO AVE.DANNY'S LIQUOR #1  
932 WEST GRAND AVE.MC KINLEY  
2551 SAN PABLO AVE.BLUE BIRD LIQUOR  
3431 SAN PABLO AVE.JUG LIQUOR #2  
3645 SAN PABLO AVE.MISTERS LIQUOR  
4428 GROVE STREETGRAMMA BOOKSTORE  
1849 UNIVERSITY AVE.VERNIT AFRO MEDIA  
2074 SAN PABLOLO COST LIQUOR  
2301 SAN PABLO AVENUE.JACKS LIQUOR  
2801 SAN PABLO AVENUERAYS LIQUOR  
2451 SAN PABLO AVENUENATIONAL MARKET  
2517 SACRAMENTO STREETSAN'S LIQUOR  
3014 SAN PABLO AVENUEFRANKLIN MARKET  
1531 SAN PABLO AVENUEADELINE LIQUOR  
3276 ADELINELOYCE DRIVE IN  
3175 ADELINECO-OP BOOKS UNLIMITED  
3020 TELEGRAPH AVE.SHAKESPEARE BOOK  
2499 TELEGRAPH AVE.MOES BOOKSTORE  
2484 TELEGRAPH AVE.YEMAN BOOKSTORE  
2406 HASTE STREETBERKELEY MARKET  
2360 TELEGRAPH AVE.TOWER RECORDS  
2510 DURANT AVENUE

101 BOBBY BUTTON



# PRISONERS' DREAMS

I  
Prisoners dream prison dreams of life  
That can never ever be--  
Come  
And check it out.  
Ask yourself  
Why  
Does it have to be  
This way?  
This way, this way  
Of merely wanting  
That oh-so-precious "opportunity" to be--  
Come  
Where that basic gesture is made  
For life is met  
With .45 caliber Sub-Thompson fire.

II  
Prisoners were unarmed but shot  
Nonetheless  
Becoming less and less  
With the expenditure of shells -- they were  
Live, Moving, monstrous  
Death objects  
For those whose names were  
Changed to numbers  
To fit toe tags and coffins  
Where people are put  
After being sprawled out  
Without even a chance  
To chance their dream  
Of once again being (long ago) seen  
Humanly  
As you are,  
Human.

III  
Prisoners need to hear the talk  
Talk about the need to know  
-- Yes there's a need  
A need to know it's alright  
To live ...  
But how?  
Can we live together?  
After having been born?  
In antagonistic conflict?  
Where life is? (Where is life?)  
Threatened by the unloving?  
Uncaring about each other?  
World? ....  
(And prisoners need to hear that?)

IV  
Prisoners have been sentenced  
"To life in prison"  
And you don't seem to see that  
To spend one's life in prison really means  
To die ...  
To die locked up  
Caged in high-rise walls  
That cut off the sun  
The moon  
The stars don't shine any longer  
Because one is gagged and bound  
And bound  
And bound to meet a day in life  
Of death.

V  
Prisoners find it hard to get out  
Alive  
The same way they came in  
And you can call it just one of those things  
(Mishap) if you wish to  
But you must call it  
Right  
After death.

VI  
Prisoners lie  
But you never have  
Heard them (have you?) in the hole --  
There they are ...  
Are they there  
Lying  
In a hole?  
You take it for granted  
That they are  
There lying  
Lying there  
Like all the others ...  
Dead bodies don't lie  
Dead bodies just lie  
Silently.

VII  
Prisoners dream prison dreams of life  
Of living  
People  
But really they are  
People  
Inside the walls  
People  
Inside themselves  
People  
Dying.

VIII  
That's no dream for prisoners  
It's a real nightmare for people  
Who would deny a human dream.